

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, December, 1892.

## LA TRADITION D'EGINHARD ET EMMA dans la poésie romanesca de la péninsule Hispanique.\*

### INTRODUCTION :

*Allérations pour la forme et le fond que la  
légende carolingienne a subies en  
Espagne.*

S'IL est bien constant que sur le sol espagnol  
il vit toujours dans la bouche du peuple une  
longue série de romances et de chansons célé-

\*Table des livres cités dans cet article sans indications  
suffisantes :

- AZEVEDO, ALVARO RODRIGUES DE, Romanceiro do Archipelago da Madeira, Funchal, 1880.
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- , Observaciones sobre la poesía popular, con muestras de romances catalanes inéditos. Barcelona, 1853.
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brant Charlemagne et ses paladins, les documents historiques sur la première apparition de ces poésies dans la péninsule nous font cependant défaut. Il paraît certain que peu de temps après l'invasion franque la tradition péninsulaire s'est emparée de Maynete et du pas de Roncesvalles. Mais les savants tels que M. G. Paris et Milá y Fontanals tombent d'accord que cette plus ancienne forme de la légende carolingienne en Espagne a disparu sans laisser de traces visibles—*que se había perdido ó poco menos*<sup>1</sup> et que les romances survivant jusqu'aujourd'hui sont dues à une irruption postérieure de contes français, soit du onzième ou du douzième siècle.<sup>2</sup>

Milá y Fontanals invoque l'exemple des librettistes pour illustrer la façon dont les *juglares* d'Espagne procédèrent pour acclimater dans leur patrie la matière de France. Avec la licence accordée à ceux-là, ils résumèrent en de courtes rhapsodies les contes épiques qui avaient cours chez leurs confrères du nord ou qu'ils trouvaient écrits dans les chroniques venant de la France. Car généralement les originaux français n'auront pas revêtu la forme de *cantos cortos y populares*, et l'on sait les raisons<sup>3</sup> pour lesquelles les Espagnols n'ont point développé ni adopté les "épopées de longue haleine."<sup>4</sup>

Rien de plus curieux que de poursuivre les modifications auxquelles, pour le fond aussi, la légende carolingienne a dû se soumettre dans ce procès d' "hispanisation," c'est-à-dire, pour se populariser dans les royaumes de l'Espagne médiévale. Nous pouvons regarder comme le type personnifié de ces transformations le fameux héros Bernardo del Carpio. N'étant autre, à l'origine historique, que le petit-fils de Charlemagne et roi d'Italie, il se métamorphose peu à peu—grâce au patriotisme rétrospectif des *juglares*—en neveu d'Alphonse le Chaste, vainqueur de Roland lui-même et représentant de l'esprit national de

<sup>1</sup> Milá y Fontanals, 'Poesía heroico-popular,' p. 375.

<sup>2</sup> G. Paris, 'Hist. poét.,' pp. 203, 204.

<sup>3</sup> Wolf, 'Studien,' p. 409.

<sup>4</sup> Même le noble berger Eugenio, D. Q., I, 51, ne cache pas l'aversion qu'il a pour les romances de *legua y media de escritura*!

la patrie soulevé contre les envahisseurs étrangers. Tel est le personnage que les romances ont consacré; tel nous le retrouvons dans les dernières continuations qu'ait eues la tradition carolingienne, comme dans celle de Moreira et de Gomes parue en Portugal au siècle dernier.<sup>5</sup>

Ainsi ce n'est donc pas seulement en Castellan que les contes carolingiens, en se frayant une voie au delà des Pyrénées ont été imités, mais nous en trouvons aussi dans le pays de langue Catalane et en Portugal. Milá y Fontanals, faisant remarquer<sup>6</sup> qu'il n'existe guère en catalan de romances relatives à l'histoire de la Catalogne elle-même, cherche à prouver qu'aussi les romances carolingiennes n'y ont pas passé directement du français, mais seulement par l'intermédiaire des poésies juglaresques castillanes. Du moins, s'il y a eu à une époque reculée une communication immédiate de contes épiques français, ils ne se sont conservés qu'une vie éphémère et l'on ne saurait y ramener les *cantigas carolingias* que le peuple catalan chante de nos jours. Il me paraît probable qu'une théorie analogue de la médiation castillane soit à admettre pour les romances de ce cycle qui subsistent en Portugal.<sup>7</sup>

#### CHAPITRE I.

##### *La tradition d'Eginhard se fixant en Espagne.*

Passons, dans le vaste cycle carolingien, à la légende particulière sur laquelle roulera le

<sup>5</sup> Je dois à la complaisance de Mme. de Vasconcellos, à Porto, d'être en possession d'un exemplaire de cette rareté carolingienne, sur laquelle M. G. Paris a puisé ses renseignements dans les quelques remarques données par Gayangos, 'Catálogo razonado,' p. lxiv, mais qui, sur la foi de M. Braga, *é ainda hoje o [livro] mais lido e reproduzido em Portugal*. La réimpression est de Lisbonne, 1888; v. au verso du frontispice de la 1.ère partie.—Les deux premières parties, par Jeronymo Moreira, parurent en 1728 et 1737, selon Innocencio; elles résument le contenu des trois livres publiés sur la même matière par Nicoláo Piamonte (Séville, 1525), et traduits à leur tour d'un original français, "Conquêtes du grand Charlemagne," paru quarante ans auparavant. En 1745, Gaetano Gomes donna sa *Verdadeira terceira parte* qui commence par la création *ab ovo* et constitue un simple fatras fantastique. L'auteur, notons-le en passant, ne paraît avoir mis que douze jours (du 27 juin au 8 juillet) à écrire ce volume, cf. iii, p. 10, 3e ligne d'un bas, et la date au bas de la p. 5.—Comparez G. Ticknor, i, 244 et ii, 479, 480 (pour l'édition espagnole), et surtout Braga, 'O Povo portuguez,' vol. ii, p. 473-476.

<sup>6</sup> 'Observaciones sobre la poesia popular,' p. 95.

présent essai: celle d'Eginhard et Emma. L'une des plus gracieuses dans le nombre sans doute, bien qu'elle ne traite que d'un événement tout à fait épisodique dans l'histoire poétique de Charlemagne.

On sait qu'un passage du 'Chronicon Laureshamense,'<sup>8</sup> couché sur le parchemin le 27 octobre. 1095, par ordre du révérend père Anselmus,<sup>9</sup> est la source<sup>10</sup> de cette tradition—car c'en est bien une, malgré les Grasse, les Ideler, les Teulet<sup>11</sup> et les autres apologistes de l'authenticité du fait.<sup>12</sup> L'Eginhard historique, homme d'état et secrétaire de Charlemagne, n'aura guère séduit les princesses franques. Les doctes courtisans se moquaient de lui—*iocularibus nominibus: nardulus, parvulus, . . . homullos*<sup>13</sup>—et Walahfrid lui-même, dans son prologue à la 'Vita Caroli' d'Eginhard,<sup>14</sup> l'appelle: "homuncio—nam statura despicabilis videbatur." Il épousa "Immam, sororem Bernharii . . . qui . . . ecclesiae Wormatiensi episcopus . . . praeftuit."<sup>15</sup> Seulement sur la fin du onzième siècle

in cænobio Laureshamensi, quem quidem locum Einhartus donatione sibi devinxerat, fabulose narrabant, Immam ipsius Caroli fuisse filiam, Einhartoque post amatorios casus, patre tandem concedente, nupsisse.<sup>16</sup>

Cette aventure érotique a d'ailleurs été attribuée par Guillaume de Malmesbury au secrétaire et à la sœur de l'Empereur d'Allemagne, Henri V,<sup>17</sup> et rapportée par Vincent de Beauvais à l'époque de Henri III.<sup>18</sup> Les poètes modernes l'ont souvent chantée; mais

<sup>7</sup> V. aussi, pp. 14, 15.

<sup>8</sup> Du cloître de Lorsch, entre Darmestat et Manheim.

<sup>9</sup> Voir dans les 'Monumenta Germaniae, Scriptores,' t. xxi, p. 428 et p. 358, 359.

<sup>10</sup> Car il n'est pas probable que ce passage reproduise une légende alors déjà divulguée; il ne reflétera plutôt que les propos des moines arrangés dans le but de glorifier les origines de leur couvent.

<sup>11</sup> V. G. Paris, 'Hist. poét.,' p. 405, note 1.

<sup>12</sup> Même Milá y Fontanals et M. Pidal ne paraissent pas s'être défaits de cette erreur. Milá y Fontanals, en parlant de Charlemagne, ajoute entre parenthèses: "que en efecto se cree generalmente haber sido suegro de su historiógrafo" ('Poesía heroica,' i, p. 356). Pour M. Pidal, v. note 23.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Phil. Jaffé, *Bibl. rerum germanicarum*, t. iv. ('Monumenta Carolina'), p. 491. <sup>14</sup> *Ib.*, p. 508.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 492. <sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>17</sup> G. Paris, 'Hist. poét.,' p. 405.

<sup>18</sup> Th. Braga, 'C. e. R. geral,' iii, 167.



on ne la trouve pas dans les chansons populaires françaises. En revanche, les peuples de l'Espagne en ont largement conservé le souvenir.

Ceci établi, la question est de savoir par quel chemin elle a pu pénétrer jusque chez eux. Almeida-Garrett<sup>19</sup> émet brièvement l'opinion que la romance d'Eginaldo "é de origem visivelmente franceza, se provençal ou normanda não me atrevo a decidir," donc point encore de jugement arrêté. M. Braga<sup>20</sup> est plus sûr de son fait :

"Este assumpto"—généralement parlant d'une dame qui se fait aimer de son vassal—"era a predilecção dos menestres populares; representa a acção que . . . exerceu a *poesia provençal*, isto é—a fusão do elemento aristocrático e feudal com o povo, pelo sentimento . . . (p. 170 :) O romance de Gerineldo encontra-se em Hespanha e Portugal, justamente até onde se estendeu a *acção da poesia provençal*; o génio hespanhol, impulsionado pelo sentimento cavalheiresco da honra, e o carácter portuguez, dominado pela integridade do dever, acceitam esta *creação dos trovadores da Provença*, em que a dama do solar, a filha do hidalgo se deixa amar por um homem de condição inferior . . . (p. 171) é *incontestavelmente de origem provençal*."

Il est vrai que plusieurs traits dans ces romances paraissent accuser l'esprit provençal et que dans la poésie occitanienne raffinée on trouve souvent traités des sujets analogues :—au seuil même de la production des troubadours un fameux poème<sup>21</sup> de Guillaume VII de Poitou débite la morale lascive qu'une dame qu'on exclut de la bonne denrée est en droit de descendre à des gens de bas étage.<sup>22</sup> Je dois cependant m'opposer à la thèse que M. Braga énonce dans les passages cités des pages 170, 171, où il vient insensiblement à faire passer la romance d'Eginhard, pour une création réelle des troubadours provençaux. Si vraiment, ce qui est improuvable, ceux-ci s'en sont emparés à une époque quelconque, ils n'ont certainement fait que mettre en vers une légende alors déjà répandue et dont l'in-

vention revient uniquement aux moines de Lorsch.<sup>23</sup>

Il ne paraît donc pas compatible avec une critique sobre de regarder la médiation des troubadours provençaux comme un fait acquis. Aussi M. G. Paris a-t-il préféré n'en pas faire mention: "Le nom de Gerineldo (Eginhard)," dit-il,<sup>24</sup> "tout à fait inconnu à nos traditions, prouve qu'elles (i. e. les romances espagnoles) ont puisé dans les chroniques, comme cela leur est d'ailleurs arrivé plus d'une fois." Donc point d'assertion gratuite! Seulement pas l'ombre d'une hypothèse sur la nature de ces chroniques: si c'était le 'Chronicon Laureshamense' lui-même qu'un hasard aurait fait connaître à des lettrés espagnols, ou bien une chronique de France venant à tomber entre leurs mains par l'intermédiaire des jongleurs du Midi? Sa réticence s'explique de la façon du monde la plus simple: tout indice positif fait défaut; c'est nuit close.

M. Braga voudrait revendiquer, sinon une origine distincte, du moins une voie d'importation particulière aux versions portugaises de la légende d'Eginhard: "não nos veio através

<sup>23</sup> Les dernières paroles font voir que la solution du problème proposée par M. Pidal ne me sourit pas non plus—solution qui, sans avoir expressément recours aux troubadours provençaux, se rapproche beaucoup de celle donnée par M. Braga. Je transcris le passage respectif de Pidal ('Colección . . .', p. 283):

"El tipo del osado paje que á hurtadillas y mañosamente corteja á una dama principal, mercediendo sus favores, es un carácter muy corriente en todos los siglos y literaturas, y sobre todo en los de la Media Edad: es la expresión simbólica de que el amor no reconoce clases. Por tanto nos inclinamos á creer que antes de *cantar los amorés de Eginardo*, cantó el romance los de cualquier mancebo de humilde condición que galanteaba á la castellana su señora, ó á una doncella de alto rango; haciendo por tal manera la apoteosis del amor que iguala linajes, idea acariciada con dulce halago por la mente de m's de un trovador andariego.

Las especiales condiciones en que Eginardo se encontraba, las circunstancias de sus amores, y el ser éstos con la hija del hombre más importante de su época, hicieron que en la persona de Eginardo se concretara el tipo del atrevido *paniaguado*, aunque aparezca velado su verdadero nombre con los de *Gerineldo*, *Reginaldo* y *Eginaldo* . . . que no difieren tanto de aquél; y él de Emma con él de *Enilda*, también bastante parecido.

Je préférerais à cette argumentation celle que voici: Du temps où florissait la poésie juglaresque, les esprits étaient en effet prédisposés pour de pareils sujets—preuve la coexistence de nombreuses romances vieilles sur des matières analogues. C'est pourquoi, une fois propagée en Espagne—nous verrons par quelle voie—la légende d'Eginhard fut avidement recueillie et exploitée par les *juglares*. M. Pidal a donc tort de croire que seulement le nom d'Eginaldo ait alors été introduit dans une romance déjà en circulation.

<sup>24</sup> 'Hist. poét.', p. 405.

<sup>19</sup> En 1843, dans son 'Romanceiro,' i, p. xvi.

<sup>20</sup> 'C. e R. geral,' iii, p. 169 et suiv.

<sup>21</sup> "Compaigno, non posc mudar que no m'esfrei" . . . cf. P. Meyer, 'Recueil d'anciens textes,' i, 69, No. 7, et K. Bartsch, 'Chrest. provençale,' Cols. 31, 32.

<sup>22</sup> Cf.: "Chascus beuri ans de l'aiga qe's laisses morir de sei."

da Hespanha, como a maior parte dos romances carolinos."<sup>25</sup> En soi, cela ne serait pas impossible; on n'aurait qu'à penser à la dynastie bourguignonne établie au Portugal et à ses rapports continuels avec le Midi de la France. La raison alléguée ne m'a pourtant pas convaincu; la différence de fond d'avec les romances castillanes n'est pas assez marquée pour donner prise à une pareille supposition. On sait même que Garrett<sup>26</sup> réclamait encore exclusivement pour le Portugal cette belle romance—point sur lequel nous sommes cependant mieux instruits à l'heure qu'il est.

La poésie artistique et le théâtre espagnols ne paraissent pas avoir mis à profit la tradition d'Eginhard; au moins je n'en ai trouvé aucun indice.<sup>27</sup> De même il ne fut trouvé dans la Péninsule aucune rédaction en prose de cette légende. Ce n'est qu'au dix-huitième siècle que le Père João Baptista de Castro la raconta dans sa 'Hora de recreyo nas ferias de mayores estudos e oppressão de mayores cuidados,' p. 35, Centuria iii, No. 61. Cf. Braga, 'C. e R. geral,' iv, 423.

Les poésies populaires sur Eginhard et Emma se divisent, naturellement, en chansons et en romances. La somme des chansons et romances (imprimées) de cette famille et des familles congénères atteint au nombre remarquable de deux cents environ: Mme. de Vasconcellos évalue celui des chansons à une centaine et compte à peu près autant de romances sur ce sujet et sur des matières analogues. L'extension de leur domaine embrasse toute la péninsule hispanique, avec le Roussignol catalan, les îles Baléares, la colonie catalane d'Alghero en Sardaigne,<sup>28</sup> les Açores, le groupe de Madère et les Canaries; en outre les Indes anciennement espagnoles et portugaises, par lesquelles il faut comprendre surtout l'Amérique latine, enfin la population mauro-hispanique de l'Afrique barbaresque.

<sup>25</sup> 'C. e R. geral,' iii, 167.

<sup>26</sup> Voir son 'Romanceiro,' ii, p. 156.

<sup>27</sup> Pour d'autres contes carolingiens, qui ont fourni le sujet d'œuvres dramatiques, v. G. Paris, 'Hist. poét.,' pp. 208, 211, 212, 215; Ticknor i, p. 127, note, et Pidal, 'Colección...' p. 17.

<sup>28</sup> Milá y Fontanals 'Poes. her.,' note 2: la población catalana de Alguer en la Isla de Cerdeña.

Dans la présente étude, nous mettons à part dès l'abord les *canciones*; restent donc à commenter les romances seules. Encore me bornerai-je pour le moment à parler de celles qui ont conservé le nom du héros (dans une forme hispanisée) et que l'on peut, pour cette raison, désigner comme le cycle de Gerineldo proprement dit. Avant de donner le résumé du développement que la tradition a suivi à travers toute la série de ces romances, je les vais passer en revue en les groupant d'après leurs idiomes respectifs. Je tâcherai de donner une appréciation de chaque texte, et j'ajouterai les remarques indispensables sur les particularités du récit.

## CHAPITRE II.

### Revue des romances de Gerineldo.<sup>29</sup>

Souvenez-vous de Marguerite  
Et du poète Alain Chartier;  
Il était bien laid, dit l'histoire,  
La dame était fille de roi.  
A. DE MUSSET, 'Poés. Nouv.'  
De Venus es su jugare.  
Vieille romance de MELISENDA.

#### A. Voici les romances castillanes sur Eginhard et Emma.

1. Gerineldos, Gerineldos,  
mi camarero pulido.

Vers 1-2.

Romance de trente-trois couples de vers, fort répandue en Andalousie, recueillie à Triana, en 1882, et p.p. Calderón, 'Escenas and.,'

<sup>29</sup> Comme l'immense majorité, de toutes les romances, celles de Gerineldo sont rédigées en *versos de redondilla mayor* ou vers (trochaïques) octosyllabiques; elles assonnent toutes en *i-o*, les vers de nombre impair restant blancs et étant à volonté *llanos* ou *agudos*. Les passages qui n'assonnent point en *i-o* se font par cela même à reconnaître pour des retouchements maladroits (B1, 2, 6, 14, 16; 2, 6, 8, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 32; C2, 26, 5, 15-34, 7, 29-38 assonnent en *i-a*, A9, 6 et C7, 17-28 en *-i*, B2, 24 en *i-e*)—ou pour des interpolations, resp. pour des fragments qui originellement n'ont pas fait corps avec la romance (dans A9, six vers assonnant en *i-e* et six en *-i* précèdent l'introduction légitime; les vers 69-72 assonnent en *i-a*; A9, 73-134, A8, 73-126, C1, 105-168, 4, 65-76, F, 51-76 en *-i*; C5, 67-70, 6, 67-70 en *-e*); pour les irrégularités très saillantes dans C8 et 9, voir note 52.

NB. Si l'assertion de Wolf, 'Studien,' p. 441, est en général juste, il a tort en tout cas de compter parmi ses preuves la romance de Réginaldo, qui est à supprimer dans l'énumération à la page 440.

pp. 256-258. Pour la correction de la forme et la transmission intacte du texte, cette version mérite d'être regardée comme une des plus légitimes (*genuinas, castizas*) de toutes.

La romance s'ouvre par un dialogue (vers 1-12) entre la belle Infante, sans nom dans cette version, et son gentil chambellan Gerineldos: elle voudrait bien l'avoir à son service la nuit, pendant trois heures. N'étant qu'un humble serviteur, Gerineldos croit d'abord être le point de mire de la plaisanterie de sa maîtresse; celle-ci toutefois, mettant de côté les préventions de sa condition élevée, s'obstine à lui répéter sa requête, et l'on convient de se voir entre une et deux heures, "lorsque le Roi sera endormi." À l'heure fixée, Gerineldos ouvre secrètement la coulisse (*rastrillo*), met des sandales de soie pour ne pas faire de bruit, et fait plusieurs fois le tour du château, évidemment pour épier le moment favorable (13-18). Dès qu'il s'est fait connaître comme "Gerineldos . . . , vuestro tan querido amigo," l'Infante lui tend la main et l'aide à monter à sa couche, où les amants s'assoupissent entre des baisers et des embrassements (19-28).—Sur cela, le Roi, anonyme aussi, se réveille d'un songe pénible. Ayant appelé trois fois en vain son *camarero pulido*, il crie à la trahison: "Ou tu es allé te coucher avec l'Infante, ou bien tu as vendu le château!" (29-38). Furieux, il saisit son épée et—découvre le serviteur infidèle dans le lit de sa fille. Il va percer le félon; mais une pensée touchante lui traverse la tête et le fait arrêter soudain: "Más crióle de chiquito," "Cependant je l'ai nourri tout petit!" (39-44). Il se contente de déposer l'épée nue entre les deux, en témoignage tacite de sa présence inaperçue (45-48).—L'Infante se réveille la première; transie de frayeur et fondant en sanglots, elle fait remarquer<sup>30</sup> à Gerineldos la découverte fatale (49-54). Lorsque celui-ci cherche à gagner sa chambre, le Roi, à l'improviste, sort à sa rencontre:

"D'où viens-tu, Gerineldos, si blême (*mustio*) et si décoloré?"

"Je viens, Seigneur, de cueillir des fleurs et des lis au jardin, et la rose la plus odorante a mangé mes couleurs."

<sup>30</sup> Au vers 51, au lieu de "Recordad heis, Gerineldos," il faut lire: "Recordaos, . . ."

"Tu mens, Gerineldos, car tu as dormi avec l'Infante. Mon épée en est témoin: son tranchant accomplira ta peine" (55-66).

2. Gerineldo, Gerineldo,  
mi camarero es Pullo. Vers 5-6.

Durán, 'Romo. Gral' i, p. 177; Wolf y Hofmann, 'Primavera y flor,' ii, p. 101 note: "Todavía en Andalucía, con el nombre de *Corrio ó Corrido ó Carrerilla*, que así llama la gente del campo á los romances que conserva por tradición, se recita ó cuenta el siguiente. . . ." À y regarder de près, ce n'est qu'un fragment de A1; ou, pour vrai dire, deux: les premiers huit couplets de vers correspondants à l'introduction de A1, et, erronnellement préposés, deux couplets de la scène finale, savoir le commencement du dialogue qui se passe au jardin entre le Roi et Gerineldo.<sup>31</sup>

3. . . . .  
levantóse Gerineldo  
que al Rey dexara dormido. 1, 2.

'R. Gral' i, No. 320; 'Prim.' (ii) No. 161: la dernière des sept pièces contenues dans le *pliego suelto* de 1537 (sin L., 4 *fojas*, fig.), le 69e de la liste de Durán ('R. Gral' i, p. lxxiii).—Extrêmement populaire dans les Asturies.

Le contenu des vingt couplets de vers qui subsistent se rapproche beaucoup, de celui du No. 1, vers 13-54. Il y manque le commencement, l'invitation adressée à Gerineldo par la Princesse, ainsi que la fin, le dénouement amené par l'intervention du Roi. Cet état de choses établi, on pourrait se sentir tenté de prendre les Nos. 2 et 3 pour des fragments d'une seule et même version. Voici cependant des raisons, hors leur diverse extraction locale, propres à renverser cette hypothèse. A2 présente un texte assez déperlé et des amplifications ineptes—circonstances qui, tout en laissant à ce fragment le caractère d'une véritable poésie populaire, marquent pourtant la détérioration qu'il a subie dans le cours des siècles. Dans aucune version, au contraire, la diction n'est aussi concise et vigoureuse que dans A3; encore est-ce celle qui a gardé le

<sup>31</sup> Il faut donc lire au vers 3: "Vengo del jardín, Señor," et non "Señora," comme l'imprimeur Durán et Wolf. Pour Pullo, voir, au chap. iii, l'alinéa 'Personnages.'



plus d'archaïsmes (de forme et de syntaxe<sup>32</sup>); ces particularités répandent autour de la romance A3 un subtil parfum d'antiquité, dont encore A1, 6, 7, 8 ont sauvé une bonne partie, mais qui se perd de plus en plus dans les autres rédactions.

4. "Este es vn romance de Gerineldo, el paje del Rey, nueuamente compuesto":

Gerineldo, Gerineldo,  
El mi paje mas querido.

1, 2.

'R. Gral' i, No. 321; Prim. (ii) No. 161a: d'après un *pliego suelto* souvent imprimé du seizième siècle (sin L. ni A., 2 *fojas*, fig.), le 85e de la liste de Durán (p. lxxiv). 59 couples de vers. Rédaction refaite et interpolée par un poète populaire de profession. Les vers 1-26 paraissent assez intacts, 27-94 et 99-108 un peu modernisés, mais toujours s'appuyant sur le texte primitif; les vers 95-98 forment une *cuadra* additionnelle, présentant des traits empruntés à une poésie étrangère, et v. 109-118 sont de libre invention, d'après des modèles célèbres.

À relever une petite incongruité: d'abord le jardin est fixé comme lieu de l'entrevue nocturne, tandis que, après coup, on se donne rendez-vous dans le boudoir d'Enildas, sans que rien n'ait préalablement fait entrevoir un changement de plan.—Le Roi, voulant s'habiller et ne trouvant pas ses vêtements, appelle en vain Gerineldo et saute du lit, craignant qu'un accident ne soit arrivé à son page (37-48). Ces appréhensions ne paraissent pourtant servir que de prétexte: car nous voyons le Monarque se diriger tout droit vers la chambre à coucher de son auguste fille, sans doute par simultanéité d'un autre pressentiment qui lui rappelle la faiblesse de toute chair. À l'aspect qui s'offre au Roi, il doute de ses yeux—j'en laisse la responsabilité au poète anonyme—et devient tout pensif. La douceur de son caractère ne tarde pas à se révolter contre un rigorisme outré: "Tuerai-je Gerineldo que j'ai aimé comme un fils"? Cependant la politique n'y manque pas:

<sup>32</sup> Le vieux emploi syntaxique des formes dérivées du plusqft. ind. latin se trouve aux vers A3, 2, 11, 27, 29, 31; c'est-à-dire, plus souvent que dans aucune des autres variantes.

¡Si yo matare la Infanta  
Mi reino tengo perdido!

49-60.

De l'heureuse union de ces vues résulte l'expédient qu'on sait.—Le Roi se retire dans les ombres du jardin. Enilda, déconcertée, renvoie précipitamment Gerineldo de sa chambre, non toutefois sans le rassurer sur la persistance de ses bonnes grâces. Celui-ci, se faufilant dans les allées du jardin, y est arrêté par le Roi aux aguets, qui sait confondre tous ses subterfuges et lui jette à la face son inconduite (83-94). Dans ce moment, on remet au soudan (!) un grand pli, dont le contenu le fait pâlir; pour s'assurer, en attendant de la personne de Gerineldo, il ordonne de l'enfermer dans le château (95-100). Voilà que la belle Enilda, sans attendre le retour du "bon Roi en furie," se met à courir à la poursuite de son amant, qui évidemment a pris en temps utile, lui aussi, le parti de se sauver. Sautant lestement par-dessus l'échallier (*tapia*, A5: *verja*) qui entoure le jardin, elle le rejoint dans le parvis (*egido*) du palais: sur un fougueux coursier ils s'enfuient à tout jamais en Tatarie (101-112). Là, on se fait baptiser—pour le bon plaisir des prêtres du seizième siècle—, on se marie en toute forme et l'on a l'agréable perspective d'un avenir garanti par les joyaux<sup>33</sup> emportés dans deux caisses d'or fin (113-118).

5. "Canción 34 nueva del Gerineldo, en la que se expresan los amores y fuga de un oficial ruso con la bella Enilda, sultana favorita del Gran Señor":

Gerineldo, Gerineldo,  
Gerineldito querido.

41, 42.

*Pliego suelto* du 19. siècle, Madrid, s. a., 72 couples de vers, divisés en dix-huit huitains.—

<sup>33</sup> Au vers 115, les éditions de Durán et de Wolf portent un texte inintelligible. Il faut lire:

Y con las joyas que lleva . . .

le; on qu'exige aussi le rythme.

<sup>34</sup> Ce n'en est pas moins une véritable *romance*, comme le prouvent le mètre et l'assonance, qui reste la même d'un bout à l'autre. Il n'y a que la division extérieure en strophes qui, pour les yeux, lui prête l'air d'une *canción*; on a choisi cette forme parce que, généralement, le peuple est bien plus habitué aujourd'hui à voir imprimer des chansons que des romances. Je fais observer en passant que dans le 'Roman-cerillo Cat.' p. p. Milá y Fontanals, Gerineldo est rangé parmi les *canciones romancescas*.



Cette version est un curieux spécimen de la "fabrication" de nos jours dans le genre "romanesque." En partie elle se caractérise comme une simple émeute littéraire; en partie, c'est original, mais d'invention piteuse; aussi les motifs nouveaux sont-ils loin de compenser les omissions regrettables dans les passages empruntés. Le style est souvent ampoulé et déparé par des fioritures d'un goût médiocre (par exemple au vers 20: "el rapaz, niño Cupido"; v. 30, 31, "el hechizo atractivo de su amor." Qu'on compare avec ces tournures recherchées celles de A4, telles que "el buen rey enfurecido" (v. 106), qui rendent si admirablement le ton naïf d'une poésie vraiment populaire).

Les cinq premières strophes (vers 1-40) racontent qu'à Constantinople un jeune officier russe, étant au service du sultan comme "capitán de su guardia y secretario efectivo," s'éprend d'Enildas la "sultana favorita del gran Sultán." Pour les strophes suivantes, le compilateur a transcrit presque littéralement de nombreux passages de A4, comme il résulte du tableau de concordance que voici:

A5.	A4.
VERS.	VERS.
41, 42	1, 2
63, 64	3, 4
69, 70	5, 6
71-74	9-12
77-80	13-16
(87, 88	17, 18)
105-119	79-93
121-126	95-100
129-135	101-107
137-139	109-111
141-144	113-118,

de sorte que les cinq derniers huitains (xiv-xviii) coïncident presque mot à mot avec les vers 79-118 de la romance précédente. Pour le reste, on conte fleurette (vi-ix); aucune idée nouvelle, beaucoup de remplissage banal. À remarquer que l'invitation, sans précisément partir de Gerineldo, est pourtant amenée par son verbiage amoureux; la scène d'amour est passée sous silence, ainsi que celle où, dans les autres versions, le poète s'est si dramatiquement prévalu de l'épée du Roi; il n'y a même plus de découverte faite par le Sultan, car Gerineldo s'aperçoit à temps de son lever intempestif. Conformément au caractère

séculier de notre ère, il n'est pas question d'une conversion de la Sultane ni même d'un mariage formel, bien que dans la première phase de son amour le brave officier se fasse fort de sacrifier son idole à sa foi (vers 53-56).

6. Gerineldo, Gerineldo,  
paje del Rey más querido.  
1, 2.

Version de vingt-six couples de vers, recueillie à Grado (Asturie) de la bouche de Juana Bernaldo, de Santianes de Molenes, et p. p. Pidal, 'Colección . . .', No. 3.

Les trois romances A6, 7, 8 se rapprochent du groupe 1, 2, 3; nombre de détails cependant, et surtout la conclusion, font supposer un original différent. La diction de ces versions asturiennes est purement populaire; aussi M. Pidal (p. 284) opine-t-il qu'elles sont "todas de interés innegable y no tan ataviadas á la moderna mi mucho menos, como gratuitamente supuso el sábio editor del Romancero castellano (D. Agustin Durán)." 35

Dans les derniers vers de la scène d'ouverture (1-12) est mentionnée la mère de l'Infante. À l'heure où Gerineldo vient appeler la Princesse, . . .

La Reina, con ser Reina,  
aun no se habia dormido:

elle réveille le Roi pour lui communiquer les appréhensions qui troublent son repos (13-20). Scène de l'épée 36 (21-34), suivie, le lendemain matin, de l'entretien du Roi et du page *aborrecido*: 37

"Qu'as-tu, Gerineldo?  
¿Hízote mal el mi pan,  
ó te hizo mal el mi vino"? 38

La réponse effrontée de Gerineldo, disant qu'on lui demande de restituer un "coffre" égaré de l'Infante, dont il ne sait rien, est

35 'Romo. Gral,' i, p. 176, la nôtre après le No. 320.

36 On y trouve intercalés deux vers (27, 28) éminemment "chrétiens" et étrangers aux autres versions, sauf les congénères A7 et 8.

37 "Triste, abatido, enfadado consigo mismo"; note de M. Pidal. Il me paraît qu'il doit y avoir une lacune après le vers 36: la proposition est incomplète et la situation n'est éclaircie par aucun des détails qui l'animent dans les autres versions.

38 Des vers analogues, où entrent également le *pan* et le *vino*, se trouvent fréquemment dans la poésie populaire de la Péninsule; voir, par exemple, les Nos. 23 (19-22) et 83 (29, 30) du recueil de M. Pidal.

habilement parée par ces paroles ironiques du Roi; "Dese cofre . . . la mi espada es buen testigo," auxquelles est ajouté l'ordre péremptoire d'épouser la Princesse ou de lui chercher mari. Lorsque le page objecte que son père n'a pas de quoi la vêtir: "Eh bien! fait le Roi, baille-lui une robe de burat, puisqu'elle n'a pas mieux mérité"!

7. Gerineldo, Gerineldo,  
paje del Rey más querido.  
1, 2.

Quarante couples de vers. No. 4 du recueil de M. Pidal, qui s'est fait chanter cette romance à Boal (Asturie) par José García Mendez, de Figueiredo.

Version très semblable à la précédente, jusque dans la tournure des phrases, et avec la même conclusion, mais sans les retranchements qu'on constate dans A6. Ainsi la visite nocturne de Gerineldo (qui s'annonce par un soupir; 13-28), de même que son congé de l'Infantina (qui se réveille au froid contact de l'épée; 53-62) reprennent leur place dans le récit avec tous les détails des autres versions légitimes. Mais la Reine n'est pas mentionnée, et un *paxarin*,<sup>39</sup> ami de Gerineldo, cherche à disperser les soupçons du Roi, réveillé d'un sommeil inquiet ("Gerineldo va en el baile . . .").

8. Gerineldo, Gerineldo,  
mi caballero pulido.  
1, 2.

No. 5 du recueil de M. Pidal, qui se l'est fait réciter à Grado par José Fernandez, de Santianes de Molenes. Trente-six couples de vers, avec un appendice de vingt-sept couples.

L'invitation (1-10); la Princesse refuse d'abord d'ouvrir la porte de son boudoir (v. 21 et suiv.: ¿Cuál es el hombre traidor. . .?). La scène d'amour (27-30) présente ici une forme, si l'on veut, plus réaliste. Episode de l'épée. Congédié par l'Infante, Gerineldo se rend de son propre mouvement à l'appartement du Roi et lui offre sa tête, non cependant sans produire une lâche excuse ("Déme la muerte, buen Rey,—ella la culpa ha tenido").—Même pointe épigrammatique que dans A6 et 7: le mariage aura lieu le lendemain à midi.

Gerineldo alors, animé d'une généreuse am-

<sup>39</sup> Diminutif de libre formation populaire,—pgs. *pagesinho*.

bition, résout de gagner à la guerre les richesses et honneurs qui le feront l'égal de la Princesse:

8 bis. Yo iré á la guerra, Señor,  
para echárselo mas fino (savoir: el vestido).

De cette façon est rattachée à notre romance une autre, rapportée d'ordinaire au Conde Sol; voir là-dessus les lumineuses remarques de M. Pidal, p. 285.

Le *bable*, dont M. Pidal, p. x, déplore le rapide déclin, se fait moins sentir dans les trois versions A6, 7, 8 que dans la suivante: <sup>40</sup>

9. Gerineldo, Gerineldo,  
mi camarero benino.  
1, 2.

Recueillie en été 1886 à Cangas de Tineo (Asturies) et p. p. M. Munthe, 'Folkpoesi,' i, No. 2 (p. 7 et suiv.). Trente-quatre couples de vers sans la *cuadra* finale et l'introduction apocryphe. À rapprocher plutôt du groupe A1-3 que de A6-8; indépendante dans certains détails.

L'invitation est précédée de sept vers constituant une introduction particulière à cette version: pendant que Gerineldo abreuve ses chevaux *á los corrientes del mar* (!) il entonne un chant, qui attire l'attention de l'Infante. (Six autres vers apocryphes, encore préposés à ceux-là, n'ont rien à voir du tout à notre romance et paraissent empruntés à une poésie tout étrangère. Ils disent que la scène se passait au beau mois de mai, lorsque toute la nature rayonnait et que les amants s'adonnaient aux jouissances de l'amour).<sup>41</sup>

Le Roi voit en songe le malheur de sa maison; il court à la chambre de sa fille, une lance à la main, mais il hésite de tuer Gerineldo, parce que ce n'est pas lui qu'il faut inculper du crime! (27-42). La Princesse envoie Gerineldo cueillir des fleurs au jardin (43-54). Arrêté par le Roi, il se jette à ses pieds pour subir la peine méritée. Le Roi leur impose comme châtiment "antes que cheguen á diez de ser mujer y marido" (55-68). Dans une *cuadra* apocryphe, Gerineldo dit avoir fait

<sup>40</sup> Où nous trouvons des formes telles que *isgraci: do* = desgr. . . , *tús* = estás, *cheguen*, *há* = (yo) hé, *cuchiendo* = cogiendo, cet.

<sup>41</sup> Pour cette introduction apocryphe, Mme. de Vasconcellos me renvoie à un article de la *Revista Lusitana*, Vol. ii, fasc. 2., lequel cependant est encore pour paraître.

serment de ne pas épouser une femme qui a été sa maîtresse.

Une romance tout indépendante de trente et un couples de vers se rattache à la version donnée par M. Munthe :

9 bis. Fué publicado la guerra  
En Francia y en Portugal.

Gerineldo est fait *capitán general*; lorsqu'il ne revient pas après une absence de sept ans, l'Infante prend des vêtements de *romera* pour aller à sa recherche. Après de longues pérégrinations, elle apprend d'un vacher que Gerineldo est à la veille de ses noces; elle va demander l'aumône à son ancien amant, et elle doit souffrir l'humiliation d'être chassée de la salle festive par sa rivale. Ayant cependant trahi sa haute naissance, elle est reconnue par Gerineldo, qui abandonne pour elle son bonheur nouveau.

10. "Lo romans de Girineldo":

. . . . .

Version chantée au Maroc, communiquée, par un nommé T. de C., à la *Renaxensa, revista catalana de literatura, ciencias y arts*, Any iii, No. 3, selon Milá y Fontanals, 'Poesía her.', p. 356, note 2.

Comme il était impossible de se procurer en Allemagne la revue mentionnée et que Milá y Fontanals n'a pas copié le texte de la romance ni même expressément indiqué si, oui ou non, elle est en langue castillane, je ne suis pas bien sûr qu'elle le soit. Voici les quelques remarques que nous trouvons insérées dans la 'Poes. her.' sur l'origine et les personnages de cette version :

"No m'ha faltat paciència per ferme cantar per una de aquestas juivas que encara sembla que conservan esma de la patria espanyola, lo romans de Girineldo que t'envio tan cabal com he pogut lograrlo. . . . Com veuràs, lo que t'envio es mes llarch y's parla en ell cap á l'ultim de la dona Maria de Linares en qui's torna la princesa y de capitá general 'Conde Niño,' com si fos lo mateix sastre (!) Girineldo que ha comensat :

Cortando paño de seda  
para hacer al rey vestido."

En cas que cette dernière observation renferme une allusion à des services de chambellan que remplirait le *capitá* dans la version du Maroc, je me sentrais la tentation de la tenir pour catalane, parce que de toutes les

autres variantes l'une des semi-catalanes (B1) est la seule où ces services soient mentionnés d'une façon analogue. Pour le reste nous apprenons que le texte doit être d'une étendue assez considérable et que, offrant le nom du Conde Niño, il serait peut-être à ranger sous un des groupes voisins de romances.

B. Les romances semi-catalanes.

Milá y Fontanals, 'Rillo. Cat.', n'en donne que deux fragmentaires de la Catalogne proprement dite (v. p. xi). Mais encore ces deux versions—retouches vulgarisées du groupe A1-3—sont malheureusement "de las que's cantan ab una gran barreja de paraulas castellanas" (Pelay Briz, 'Cansons de la Terra,' ii 222). Quant à la diction, à remarquer le parallélisme très prononcé, qui d'ailleurs dans aucune autre littérature populaire ne paraît prédominer au même point que dans la catalane.

1. Aquí estaba Gerineldo  
junto á una ventana fría.

Milá y Fontanals 'Rillo. Cat.', No. 269, n'en donne que trois courts fragments (seize vers, dont seulement trois en catalan):

Pendant que Gerineldo vague à ses fonctions de page en nettoyant les vêtements de soie de son royal maître, l'Infante passe et le requiert d'amours (1-6) . . . .

L'endema á la matinada,<sup>42</sup>

le Roi demande en vain ses vêtements (7-10). . . . Attendrissement du Roi; le denouement est ébauché en ces vers :

Mejor será que los casi,  
nada ningún no sabría. 11-16.

2. Arinello, Arinello,  
Arinello Pampolino. 1, 2.

Milá y Fontanals 'Rillo Cat.', No. 269B: le dernier tiers de la romance est assez intact (v. 9-32); pour le reste, seulement quelques vers décousus. En tout trente-deux vers, sur lesquels cinq catalans.

Le Roi souhaite la bienvenue à Arinello, qui prétend venir de cueillir des fleurs dans le *camaril* (9-16). La Princesse survient et cherche par ses prières à arracher au Roi le consentement à son mariage avec Arinello :

<sup>42</sup> Vers stéréotype dans la poésie populaire catalane, comme aussi le vers B2, 16.

"Comment veux-tu que je te le donne encore pour mari, si tu l'as déjà pris? ... Mieux vaut toutefois les marier puisque déjà ils se sont tant aimés" (17-32).

Selon Milá y Fontanals, il existe une troisième version, toute analogue à la précédente, "aunque mas catalanizada."<sup>43</sup>

### C. Les versions portugaises.

1. Reginaldo, Reginaldo,  
pagem d'elrei tam querido.  
1, 2.

Garrett, 'Romanceiro,' ii, No. 9, p. 158 et suiv.; Hardung i, p. 109. Ce n'est pas, comme toutes les autres versions commentées, la reproduction d'une romance chantée dans une contrée déterminée du royaume; c'est plutôt une compilation de divers fragments venus de l'Alemtéjo, de l'Estramadure, du Ribatéjo, du Haut et du Bas-Béira, du Minho et d'Oporto. Garrett et le poète A. F. de Castilho, à qui il devait une partie du texte,<sup>44</sup> ont concouru à le perfectionner coûte que coûte, de sorte que tous les passages non justifiés par les autres versions sont suspects quant à leur authenticité comme poésie populaire.<sup>45</sup> À cet égard donc, la présente romance ne mériterait point d'ouvrir la série des versions portugaises, mais devrait y être annexée comme texte semi-apocryphe. On peut cependant alléguer en sa faveur que de toutes les variantes imprimées elle a été la première publiée et que, partant, elle a été la souche de notre connaissance de la légende dans la Péninsule.

Quarante-neuf couples de vers dans la version de l'Alemtéjo, que je désignerai par C1a; dans celle du Ribatéjo, C1b: quatre-vingt-huit

<sup>43</sup> On ne pourra espérer trouver un jour le texte complet des romances catalanes d'Eginhard ou la notation de leur mélodie dans la seconde partie du 'Rillo Cat.', dont on attend la publication. L'éditeur des 'Obras completas de Milá y Fontanals,' M. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, écrit à Mme. de Vasconcellos, à la date du 6 Novembre, 1889:

"La 2a. parte del Rillo Cat. no contiene rr. nuevos, sino observaciones, notas, apéndices, y concordancias con las canciones populares de otros países. No es trabajo acabado, pero yo quiero publicar todo lo que existe y quizá me aventure a completar algunas secciones. . . . No he encontrado hasta ahora noticia alguna que se refiera a los fragmentos de rr. de Gerineldo. Son de los muchos que Milá no llegó a comentar por haberle faltado la vida."

<sup>44</sup> V. son 'Romanceiro,' i, p. xv, xvi.

<sup>45</sup> V. aussi le jugement de M. Pidal, p. 281: "abunda en circunstancias y escenas diferentes y es mucho mas extensa; cualidades que dicen poco en pró de su antigüedad."

couples de vers, ou cinquante-deux après élimination des couplets additionnels assonnant en -á.

L'invitation est amplifiée d'une *quadra* dans la version de l'Alemtéjo (mais non en Estramadure). L'Infante fait ouvrir la porte à Reginaldo par ses compagnes (*aíás*; 17-32). Lorsque le Roi s'aperçoit de l'absence de son page la réponse évasive des "vasallos que tudo tinham sentido" suscite ses soupçons (33-44). Il se munit d'un poignard—d'un *traçado* ou *terçado* "coutelas," en Estramadure—et, visitant toutes les salles du palais, finit par découvrir les amants assoupis dans le boudoir de l'Infante, où il entre inaperçu (45-54). Ici ce sont les vassaux qui surviennent et qui, voyant le Roi perdu de rage, réussissent pourtant à arrêter d'une justice trop prompte: Il se contente de déposer son poignard d'or entre les deux dormeurs, le tranchant tourné contre le page, comme bien on pense (55-62), de façon que celui-ci, au premier mouvement involontaire qu'il fait, vient à le heurter et à s'égratigner la peau. L'Infante, réveillée par son amant en angoisse, lui conseille de se jeter aux pieds du Roi, qui est "doux et compatissant"; en cas d'inflexibilité de son père, elle lui promet de mourir avec lui (63-76; dans une variante du Bas-Béira, l'Infante est assez hardie pour prédire avec certitude que le Roi va les marier!). De rencontre avec le Roi, Reginaldo, après quelques détours, s'offre pour subir le supplice mérité et qui paraît inévitable (77-88).

Mais bientôt le Roi s'attendrit (vers 91-94=C3, 51-54) et, par une tournure epigrammatique, inflige à son page le châtement de prendre pour épouse l'Infante dont il s'est fait aimer (vers 89-98 de la version de l'Alemtéjo C1a; un autre texte de la même province ajoute encore six vers: les vassaux envient le bonheur de Reginaldo).

Suite de C1b: Le Roi, à qui, après tout, les délinquents ne laissent pas d'inspirer de la compassion, résout d'enfermer Reginaldo "pour commencement de peine." Les vassaux rassemblés pour délibérer sur le sort du hardi page sont unanimes à décider qu'il a forfait corps et avoir (89-104).

Dans la version du Ribatéjo, il y a encore la scène du *donjon*, aussi pathétique et émou-



vante en elle qu'elle est étrangère à la véritable tradition conservée dans cette famille de romances. En voici l'analyse: Jeté dans le cachot, Reginaldo se morfond plus d'un an à attendre l'exécution de la sentence portée contre lui, quand sa mère vient le voir une dernière fois. Elle remplit l'air de ses plaintes déchirantes:

"Lasse! pauvre veuve que je suis! que t'ai-je nourri avec tant de peine, que t'ai-je confié à un si bon maître, si tu finis par l'abuser si honteusement! . . . Mais, avant de mourir, ô mon fils, laisse-moi entendre, une fois encore, ton chant"! (105-134).

Ce n'est qu'après les instances réitérées de sa mère que Reginaldo entonne la chanson que son père aimait à chanter la veille de la Saint-Jean (135-152). Le Roi, instruit par l'Infante de ce que ce chant harmonieux ne part pas d'anges ou de sirènes, mais bien du *triste sem ventura* qu'il a condamné à mort, révoque la sentence et marie les deux fidèles amants (153-168).

La retouche de Garrett, resp. de Castilho, s'accuse dans les vers (2-6), 17-24, 29-34, 41-44, 53-58, 61-64, 83-84, abstraction faite d'autres altérations, telles que le renvoi dans la scène finale de la *quadra* 91-94.

Nous retournons aux versions purement populaires, qui sont nombreuses en Portugal:

2. Gerinaldo, Gerinaldo,  
pagem de el-rei mais querido.

1, 2.

Th. Braga, 'Canco. e Romo. geral,' iii, No. 6; Hardung i, p. 101; traduite par le Comte de Puymaigre, 'Romanceiro: Choix de vieux chants portugais,' Paris, 1881, No. 33. Version de Trás-os-Montes: "este romance cantase em Freixo de Espadacinta" (Braga, iii, p. 171). Vingt-neuf couples de vers; variante intègre, vulgarisée dans les expressions; formes dialectales (*trupido*, *castillo*, *pequechinho*, *espulverido*,<sup>46</sup> *mangar*).

<sup>46</sup> *Pequechinho* (v. 36), doublet vulgaire de *poucochinho* (C8, 29), dans l'acception de "petit," les idées de "peu" et de "petit" se confondant facilement dans l'imagination du peuple; il est vrai que pour un individu très mince il existe le diminutif *pequerruchinho* et *pequerrucho*, mais on n'en saurait déduire de primitif; ces formes ne peuvent être rapprochées de *peco* "simple, imbécile."

*Espulverido* (v. 50), mot tout à fait inusité; il désigne l'état d'une personne qui, brusquement réveillée du sommeil, a l'air ébouriffé et malpropre.

Gerinaldo, nu-pieds, même nu-jambes, frappe à la porte du boudoir de la Princesse, où il est admis après s'être nommé (13-24). Le Roi fait un songe, qui a toutes les apparences de la réalité: "ou l'on défile l'Infante, ou on m'enlève le château"! (25-28).—Gerinaldo se réveille le premier, restant "plus mort que vif"; sa maîtresse l'encourage (41-48). Interpellé par le Roi, Gerinaldo tout déconcerté feint d'abord de rentrer de la chasse,<sup>47</sup> puis, d'avoir "arrosé les fleurs, qui en étaient bien nécessaires"! Le Roi coupe court à ses propos mensongers par un généreux pardon, lui donnant l'Infante pour épouse (49-58).

3. Gerinaldo, Gerinaldo,  
pagem do Roi bem querido.

1, 2.

Braga, 'C. e R. G.,' iv, No. 30; Hardung, i, p. 104: "Versão da ilha de São Miguel." Quarante-et-un couples de vers; texte vulgarisé, diction négligée.

Le deuxième alinéa (13-28) s'est accru ici d'une *quadra* contenant les offres amoureuses de l'Infante. Choqué par l'absence du page, "le bon du Roi" se lève, s'habille et ne rougit pas de parcourir nu-pieds, et les souliers en main, tous les couloirs et tous les compartiments du palais, pour aboutir au lit de sa fille<sup>48</sup> (41-50). Gerinaldo est encouragé par l'Infante: "Si le Roi ordonne de te tuer, j'avance que tu es mon mari; s'il t'interroge, ne lui nie pas l'affaire"! (57-68). Se rencontrant avec le Roi, Gerinaldo feint d'avoir arrosé le jardin potager (*a horta*), puis, d'avoir donné la chasse aux ramiers. Le Roi lui accorde la main de sa fille en disant avec bonhomie: "Je m'étais déjà promis de te donner ta tourterelle"!—ne pouvant toutefois supprimer cette réflexion aigre-douce: "Mais elle aurait montré plus de jugement en choisissant un de plus haut rang"! (77-82).

<sup>47</sup> Le vers C2, 51 étant trop court, on pourra le redresser en lisant: "Eu venho de matar caça."

<sup>48</sup> Au vers 30, au lieu de "O rei andava erguido," il faudra peut-être corriger: "O rei tinha recordado," puisque le Roi ne se lève réellement qu'au vers 41. C'est aussi pourquoi les vers 33, 34 sont évidemment de trop: ils anticipent l'action exprimée dans les vers 45, 46 et troublent la marche du récit.

Un autre mode de débrouiller ce chaos consisterait à supprimer ou les vers 29-34 ou les vers 41-46, chacun de ces passages suffisant pour lui seul à maintenir l'intégrité du récit: nous aurions alors une coalescence de deux versions différentes en une seule.

4. Girinaldo, Girinaldo,  
pagem d'El-rei tão querido.

1, 2.

*ib.*, No. 31; Hardung i, p. 106. "Variante da ilha de S. Jorge." Après suppression de la tirade 65-76 assonnant en -á et visiblement interpolée, il reste trente-cinq couples de vers.

Les alinéas 1-12, 13-24 (sans la *quadra* additionnelle de C3), 25-34, 35-40, 41-48, 49-64 coïncident à peu près avec les six alinéas correspondants (vers 1-68) de la romance précédente: à relever comme détail que le Roi tourne le tranchant du coutelas—v. 45: *cultello*, v. 53: *punhal*—contre sa fille pour indiquer symboliquement que c'est elle qui est surtout coupable ("que a morte tinha mer'cido," v. 48).

La scène finale, l'entretien du Roi et de Girin., se réduit aux paroles bienveillantes du premier, qui daigne faire asseoir à la table royale son "cher gendre" frais émoulu du vasselage (77-82).

Après le vers 64 est intercalé l'épisode du chant de Girin., que nous avons trouvé plus complet comme appendice à la romance C1b (C4, 65-72=C1b 157-164). Le vers 64 (la Princesse enjoint à Girin. de faire résonner un chant en cas qu'il soit emprisonné) n'a évidemment reçu cette forme que pour rattacher cet épisode au corps de la romance; primitivement il aura égalé le vers C3, 66.

5. "Estoria de Gerinaldo":  
Gerinaldo, Gerinaldo,  
pagem d'el-rei tão amigo.

1, 2.

Version recueillie à Calheta et p. p. M. Azevedo, 'Romo. do Archip. da Madeira,' p. 63 et suiv. Sans la conclusion apocryphe, trente

49 Encore ici une révision du texte est indispensable pour redresser les incongruités du récit. Les vers 27, 28 sont à supprimer ou à changer. Autrement, en serrant le texte des 3e. et 4e. alinéas tel qu'il est là, nous arrivons au curieux tableau que voici: À peine est-il onze heures, que le Roi se lève et va de salle en salle, d'une porte à l'autre, appelant Girin. pour lui apporter ses vêtements. S. M. T. F. marche donc toute nue, ce qui équivaut à un souverain mépris des moindres gênes imposées par l'étiquette. Ce qui rehausse le grotesque de la scène c'est que le Roi, suivant ainsi la piste de son page amouraché, tient ses souliers en main "para menos ser sentido," précaution que précisément dans cette version Girin. même a négligée en se rendant chez la Princesse!—Cependant, trêve de digression! Il ne s'agissait que d'exemplifier sur un cas déterminé jusqu'où peut aller la naïve insouciance de ces rhapsodes populaires.

couples de vers. Se rapproche (comme A6, 7, 8 et C2, 3, 4) beaucoup du groupe A1, 2, 3; quelques traits particuliers (vers 41: "Ao despois, *accordam elles*"; 47, 48: "Eu, se mato minha filha, fica lo throno sósinho"; 47, 48: "Se tu foges, Gerinaldo, Eu tamben fujo contigo"). Naïve excuse du page (cf. A8, C6); le Roi lui accorde la main de sa fille:

Não és da mesma igualha,  
Mas és lo seu escolhido.

Appendice (v. 61-70): Le page soutient que lui aussi est issu de sang royal, "de bastardia de França": il porte même sa légitimation (*cartel*) sur lui! Le mariage est célébré par des fêtes splendides.

6. Gerinaldo, Gerinaldo,  
Lindo conde meu tão qu'rido.

1, 2.

Recueillie à Porto da Cruz (Madère) et p. p. M. Azevedo, p. 66 et suiv.; trente-trois couples de vers sans la *quadra* finale illégitime.

La nuit, l'amant se fait connaître comme "vosso captivo, lo conde Gerinaldinho." L'Infante lui jette une échelle de corde de soie pour qu'il monte inaperçu. Ayant découvert les coupables, le Roi est près de se laisser emporter à la rage (vers 40; cf. C5, 33: "*Quedo el-rei se ficou*"!). La *quadra* qui termine cette version, présente une plaisanterie un peu malicieuse; la voici:

Gerinaldo lá casou  
Com uma filha de rei;  
Mas, se la gosou donzella,  
Não sou eu que jurarei.

7. (Vem la filha do rei, e diz:)  
Leonardo, Leonardo,  
Pagem d'el-rei tão querido.

1, 2.

Romance trouvée à Camara de Lobos (Madère) et p. p. M. Azevedo, p. 69 et suiv., trente-huit couples de vers. Texte très défiguré; le premier alinéa est bien conservé; les vers 17-28 sont encore légitimes pour le fond, mais retouchés pour la forme et déparés par des fioritures et enflures: ass. -*ir*; pour les autres assonances anormales, v. note 29.

Dans la scène d'exposition les conseils de précaution donnés par l'Infante sont plus détaillés (v. 13-16). Comme ni elle, ni Leonardo n'apparaissent le matin, le Roi se demande: "Minha filha, onde 'stás?" Dans la suite, le

rhapsode s'est visiblement hâté<sup>50</sup> pour arriver à la longue scène finale (51-76), tout étrangère aux autres versions, sauf C1b. Vivement exhorté par son amante à chercher le salut dans la fuite (37-42), Leon. ne peut exécuter ce projet parce que le Monarque indigné sort à sa rencontre et, malgré ses faux-fuyants, ordonne aux gardes de le mettre à mort (43-50). Voilà que la Princesse survient et s'offre à périr avec son amant, si le Roi ne permet pas qu'elle l'épouse (51-56). Un conseil est convoqué, mais "les grands du palais" évitent de se prononcer librement, ne voulant se brouiller ni avec le Roi ni avec l'Infante :

Que, s'el-rei então reinava,  
Viria la filh'a reinar.

57-64.

Le Roi, dans ces circonstances, se voit forcé de céder; il sauve toutefois les apparences en parlant "comme qui sait parler."<sup>51</sup> Il fait élargir Leon. et l'amener par les nobles en cortège solennel pour que le mariage s'accomplisse dans l'église, le jour même (65-76).

Les trois versions C5-7, comme la plupart des pièces du 'Romo. d'Azevedo,' sont accompagnées d'une sorte de *scenari*—eux aussi visiblement d'origine populaire—disant par exemple: (après C7 16) "A hora dara, Leon. à porta."; (ap. 6, 34) "E correu el-rei á alcova da filha"; (ap. 6, 46) "El-rei deixou ficar lo seu punhal, e foi-se imborá. Ella despois accorda, e crama"; (ap. 5, 50) "Vae Gerinardo deitá-se aos pés d'el-rei, e falla."; (ap. 7, 50) "E logo lo prenderam para ir a morrer"; (ap. 7, fin) "E tudo se fez como el-rei mandou."

Souvent ces *indicações scenicas* ne sont d'aucun secours pour l'entendement du texte; quelquefois, cependant, elles remplacent même une partie du récit, comme cela arrive dans C6, après le v. 46, où le réveil des amants est uniquement indiqué par le *scenari*.

<sup>50</sup> De sorte que, en supprimant l'amplification des vers 13-16 et en supposant à la romance la conclusion qu'on trouve dans les autres versions (c'est-à-dire, en remplaçant les vers 49, 50 par les vers 75, 76), elle n'aurait que vingt-trois couples de vers.

<sup>51</sup> Suivent les vers 67-70:

"Criei-lo de pequenino, Não no hei de degolar;  
Se mando morrer la filha, Ninguém tenho a quem herdar,"  
qui, dans les autres variantes, font partie de l'épisode de l'épée.

8. General, general, (sic!)

General mais querido,

1, 2.

p.p. M. Reis Damaso, "Romances," dans les "Tradições . . . , Encycl. Rep." (1882), p. 235; Vingt-sept couples de vers.

De tous les textes que nous commentons, celui-ci et le suivant sont les plus corrompus: tant pour la versification<sup>52</sup> que pour le récit, qui est amplifié par des détails d'une répugnante banalité.

L'invitation ne compte que neuf vers; omission après v. 5.—La visite nocturne (10-17) bien conservée; "Seu pae que desconfiou" trouve les amants face contre face, comme femme et mari; hésitations; il laisse "ses armes" entre eux (18-31): La Princesse, au réveil, conseille à General d'implorer à genoux le pardon du Roi et de pleurer comme un enfant; "il n'est pas assez cruel pour ne pas nous marier!" (32-40). La conclusion—imploration de General, que le Roi accepte pour son "genro querido" (41-48)—paraît être le mieux transmise. Dans les six vers apocryphes qui suivent, le nouveau gendre produit ses titres de noblesse: il se donne pour le parent des rois d'Espagne et de Cascaes et du saint-père même: "Diga el-Rey qual seja mais!"

9. . . . .

D. Alberto, D. Alberto,  
O nosso somno foi sabido.

1, 2.

Fragment de huit couples de vers trouvé à Lagoas en Algarbie; p. p. Reis Damaso, ib., p. 184.

Ce n'est que la fin de la légende; les premiers six vers correspondent à C8 33-39; l'imploration 7, 8; la *quadra* finale 13-1653=C8 45-48. Les titres de noblesse (9-12) précèdent

<sup>52</sup> Partout où nous ne trouvons pas l'assonance régulière, il y a des désordres que nous n'essayerons pas toujours de ramener à l'état normal. Après C8, 2 il manque un vers, et 36 est de trop (anticipé du discours du Roi; cf. v. 45), de façon qu'à partir de 3 jusqu'à 35, les vers de nombre impair ont l'assonance. À constater d'autres anomalies dans 18-20 et 41, 42 [assonance exceptionnelle -ou(?)-oubien chute de vers(?)]. D'autres suppressions résultent de notre analyse. Pour *General*, v. note 60.

Dans C9, les 8e et 9e lignes doivent ne former qu'un seul vers, *El-Rey* ou *meu senhor* étant à retrancher. La *quadra* additionnelle, assonnant en *d-e, d-i*.

<sup>53</sup> Au v. 15, à restituer *vasallo* au lieu de *eras filho*.

ici ce quatrain, comme pour motiver la décision favorable du Roi.

Encore qu'il y ait un rapport d'affinité très marqué entre toutes les versions de la romance, on comprend qu'il est impossible d'en établir une filiation exacte et d'assigner à chacune d'elles une place déterminée dans l'arbre généalogique de la famille. C'est pourquoi je me désisterai de dresser un tableau synoptique et me bornerai au rapide résumé que voici.

Nous avons vu, somme toute, que :

a. parmi les versions castillanes, A3, et ensuite A1, sont assurément les plus anciennes; preuve l'extrême concision de la forme, qui va en se détériorant de A3 et A1 en A2 et A4, de A4 en A5; A6-9 se sont encore conservé le caractère de *versiones castizas*;

b. Les romances semi-catalanes se rattachent à peu près aux vieilles versions castillanes, tandis que

c. Les portugaises forment un groupe plus indépendant; entre elles, C2 présente la meilleure leçon et se rapproche, comme C3 et sa variante C4, des groupes A1-3 et A6-8; C5 et 9 offrent des textes dégénérés, mais toujours légitimes, et seulement des fragments de C1 peuvent être considérés comme de la véritable poésie populaire (mais, en partie, d'un haut âge).

### CHAPITRE III.

#### *Examen comparé des motifs constitutifs de la légende d'Eginhard en Espagne.*

Le dépouillement terminé, j'aborde un rapide examen comparé des éléments constitutifs dont se composent les romances de Gerineldo. Je mets en parangon l'original latin de la tradition,<sup>54</sup> sans toutefois le prendre pour point de départ, parce que évidemment il n'a servi de fondement immédiat à aucune des versions poétiques conservées.

#### a. BONHEUR DES AMANTS.

1. L'historique au sujet de la Princesse, que donne la chronique à Lorsch (Imma . . . regi

<sup>54</sup> V. 'Monumenta Germ.,' *Scriptores* t. xxi, p. 358-359.

Grecorum desponsata cet.), manque dans les romances. A5 en a reçu un autre, plus remarquable par son étendue que par le charme de la description, lequel d'ailleurs s'occupe également ou même davantage de l'amant.

2. L'invitation adressée à Gerineldo par l'Infante; commune à toutes les versions, hors les fragmentaires A2, 3, C9 (sautée par Milá y Fontanals dans B2). Cet attachant dialogue servant d'ouverture au poème lui donne dès l'abord l'empreinte d'une rare vivacité. Dans A1, 4, 6, 7; C2, 3, 4 il comprend uniformément les premiers douze vers, preuve déjà d'une homogénéité marquée. Dans A2, où il est assez corrompu, une *cuadra* en plus, de même dans C7, où la Princesse ajoute des conseils de précaution, et dans la version de l'Alemtejo C1, qui, en polissant les deux lignes de souhait, en a fait six (—retouche de Garrett?). Dans A5, pas moins de cinq à sept huitains (vers 25, resp. 41 à 80), amplification assez gauche. Quant à B1, on ne saurait reconnaître exactement si l'invitation y est au complet; il paraît toutefois que non, parce que autrement ce serait la seule version sans dialogue, la seule où manquerait l'apostrophe typique: "Gerineldo, Gerineldo, etc." La légende latine ne sait rien encore de cette invitation; au contraire, c'est Eginhard qui "novissime de semet ipso sumpta fiducia" va surprendre la Princesse. Il y a un peu de cela aussi dans la romance A5.

3. L'entrevue nocturne (A1, 3-5, 7-9; C1-8), fort analogue dans toutes les romances, a peu de différences près: ainsi, quelques versions parlent des mesures de précaution que prend Gerineldo en se rendant chez l'Infante (A1 "sandálias de seda," C1 "calçou çapato de panno"; dans C2, etc., il marche nu-pieds), d'autres n'en font pas mention; dans A7, 9; C1, 3, 6 Ger. s'annonce par des soupirs; dans A9, C1 et 6 il se donne pour le *cantibo*, *captivo* de sa maîtresse; enfin la scène d'amour est peinte avec des degrés divers de discrétion. Les deux éléments de cet épisode sont assez fidèlement imités du prototype latin: "nocturno tempore latenter ad puellae tendebat habitaculum. Ibidem ergo pulsans clanculo et intrare permissus . . . solus cum sola cupito satisfacit amori." L'invention n'y paraît guère moins poétique que dans nos romances!



## b. CATASTROPHE.

4. Le songe du Roi. A7, 9; C2 présentent un récit particulier: le Roi va trouver son page par suite d'un songe sinistre (*sueño des-pavorido, peza dello*) renfermant un mauvais augure tout à fait déterminé ("que de beras le ha salido," A9; "que bem certo lhe sahia," C2). Encore dans A1, 3, 8 il se réveille d'un cauchemar, mais qui ne contient point un présage; dans quelques versions (A4, B1, C1) parce que le jour commence à poindre; dans d'autres (C5, 6) sans qu'il y ait une raison d'indiquée, même avant minuit (C3 4), de sorte qu'on devra supposer une insomnie: C7 et 8 diffèrent un peu, et dans A6 le Roi est réveillé par la Reine soupçonneuse. Dans nombre de romances, il est rendu soupçonneux parce que, à ses cris réitérés, le page n'apparaît pas pour lui donner ses vêtements.

Dans le récit latin, il y a bien l'insomnie du Roi: "eam noctem divino, ut creditur, nutu insomnem duxit," mais on n'en parle qu'après le réveil des dormeurs, de l'étrange sortie de qui le souverain est témoin. Point de soupçons préalables!

5. Le Roi (s'habille A4, 8; C2, 4, se munit d'une épée—dans A7 il décroche même de la muraille l'épée d'or, la plus tranchante qu'il ait—parcourt le château et) découvre les amants assoupis (A1, 3-9, C1-8).

6. Lutte intérieure et attendrissement du Roi, scène de l'épée (A1, 3, 4, 6-9; C1-7, 9). B1 se termine avec les réflexions conciliantes du Roi. A5 retranche toute cette scène saisissante; il est vrai qu'un sultan, en découvrant l'infidélité d'une maîtresse, ne saurait guère avoir pour elle les égards et les raisons de ménagement, qui conviennent si bien au roi chrétien vis à vis de sa fille égarée. Cet épisode, comme le précédent, est d'ailleurs parfaitement étranger à la chronique de Lorsch et emprunté à Tristan, où "Marc laisse son gant quand il trouve Tristan endormi près d'Iseut, et séparé d'elle par son épée":<sup>55</sup> "tambem no thalamo de Brunhilde e Sigurd, e na pyra, se collocou entre ambos uma espada."<sup>56</sup> Partant du sens que cet usage a eu dans les vieux temps germaniques, M. Pidal

<sup>55</sup> V. G. Paris, 'Hist. poét.', p. 215.

<sup>56</sup> Braga, 'C. e R. G.', iii, p. 170, avec plus d'exemples encore.

cherche à prouver que le Roi met son épée entre les deux amants

"como espontánea manifestación del deseo de que no se hubiera consumado la deshonra de su hija, como testigo exculpador; por más que, tiempo despues el pueblo, ignorante ya del simbolismo germano, convirtiese la espada aquella en acusador de la flaqueza de E-nildas."<sup>57</sup>

Il n'y a pas à discuter l'origine de cet épisode ni du sens qu'il a eu primitivement. Mais ne suffirait-il pas de supposer que, dans nos romances, le Roi laisse l'épée simplement pour indiquer que les coupables ont été en son pouvoir?

7. Réveil des amants et congé de Gerineldo (A1, 3-5, 7-9; C1-9). Dans les versions castillanes, la Princesse se réveille la première; dans nombre des portugaises c'est Eginhard, même dans C4, bien que le fil de l'épée y soit tourné contre l'Infante! Seulement deux versions donnent une raison extérieure du réveil: selon A7, 53, 54, "Con el frio de la espada La Infanta ha espavorecido," et dans C1 la peau de Reginaldo est déchirée par l'épée. Dans les versions portugaises, encouragement de Gerinaldo par l'Infante, brièvement indiqué aussi dans quelques-unes des castillanes (A4 et A5, qui ne parle ni de l'assoupissement, ni de l'épée, ni du réveil), tandis que d'autres versions racontent le renvoi du page sans ce détail. Dans les vers A4, 79-82 on "voit un confus souvenir de la conduite matinale faite à Eginhard par la Princesse." Mais il y manque la neige, qui, dans le texte latin, détermine précisément le caractère singulier du congé:

"Interea . . . nivem haut modicam decidisse (Einhartus) cognovit, et ne per vestigia pedum virilium agnitus proderetur, foras exire timuit . . . Tandem elegantissima invencula . . . consilium dedit, ut ipsa quidem super se insidentem inclinata exciperet cet."

Garrett, 'Romo.' ii, p. 155 a dit fort juste: "Talvez o que primeiro contou a historia ao nosso povo . . . omittiu a scena da neve por menos familiar e commum n'estes climas do sul." Un peu plus bas il parle presque avec affection "da bella escena da neve," tandis que M. Braga, 'C. e R. G.', iii, p. 169, paraît moins sensible à l'absence, dans les romances,

<sup>57</sup> 'Colección . . .', p. 284, également avec l'exemple de Brynhilda.

"da *pequeníssima circumstancia* da neve e das pégadas; em nada altera a acção(!); os trovistas do Meio Dia só tiraram da tradição os episódios que conheciam; ... pintaram a natureza como estavam costumados á vel-a."

La neige manque donc, et partant la précaution et la fine ruse des amants. Si l'on veut, on peut trouver une faible compensation dans l'épisode où, se glissant nuitamment à la chambrette de l'Infante, Gerineldo ôte sa chaussure et porte ses souliers à la main, pour ne point faire de bruit. Voilà du moins aussi une petite ruse inspirée par la précaution, quoique appartenant à une tout autre phase du récit: celle de la venue, et non du départ de Gerineldo.

#### c. DÉNOUEMENT.

8. Rencontre de Gerineldo et du Roi (A1, 4-9; B2; C1-9). Dans A1, 6-9; C2-6, 8, 9 cette scène, assez variée dans les différentes versions, aboutit à la réunion des amants et termine ainsi le poème: "a versão da ilha de São Jorge (C4) termina com a idea verdadeiramente feudal da distinção á mesa . . . Carlos Magno para elevar o pagem a seu genro senta-o comsigo á mesa" (Braga, 'C. e R. G.', iv, p. 423). C5, 8, 9 mentionne un diplôme de noblesse produit par Gerinaldo. Dans A9; C1a, b, 8, 9 on voit comme un aveu caché fait par le page, qui finit par offrir sa tête pour le supplice mérité: dans C1, le Roi accepte ("Morrerás por atrevido"; A1 aussi finit par la menace de mort prononcée par le Roi). Mais tant C1a que C1b trouvent encore une suite, parce que le Souverain, si autocratique soit-il, s'émeut du sort de sa fille et de Reginaldo: pour la conclusion de C1b, voir notre alinéa 10; la version de l'Alemtéjo C1a se termine par une pointe épigrammatique (vers 88-98, resp. 104). Nous retrouvons le même sarcasme dans C5, A6-9: le Roi octroie également au page la main de sa fille, bien que Gerineldo ait dû avouer son crime et même tenté de se décharger de toute culpabilité sur la Princesse. Par cet acte le Monarque prétend à la fois humilier sa fille: "pues así merece descender de alcurnia quien olvidándola dió á un plebeyo la flor de sus amores." La robe de burat (*saya*!) mentionnée dans A6-8 rappelle celle de laine grossière avec

laquelle, selon une forme de la tradition, Emma, bannie, s'enfuit dans l'Odenwald. M. Pidal (p. 285) a signalé fort bien l'enchaînement d'idées qui a été cause que, dans la version A8, on souda avec la romance de Gerineldo une autre, qui par le fond égale celles du Conde Sol. La tradition rattachée à la version A9, bien qu'étant la même par son origine, a pourtant subi de notables modifications; la conclusion ne laisse pas que de paraître un peu obscure.

Dans le récit latin, la rencontre entre le Roi et le chambellan n'est pas fortuite (resp. amenée par le Roi) comme dans la plupart des romances; l'initiative y est toute du côté d'Eginhard, qui va implorer le pardon de Charlemagne (comme dans A8, C8, 9). . . "tandem inter angustias reperto consilio imperatorem aggreditur, flexis genibus missionem postulans"; l'autocrate dissimule et se tait.

Pour le reste, à distinguer deux groupes; l'un, ne comprenant que C1b et C7, a seul gardé quelque ressemblance avec le prototype latin; l'autre, qui se subdivise encore, a introduit des éléments nouveaux, étrangers à la vieille légende, savoir une dernière intervention de la Princesse et, bien plus important, le motif de la fuite:

9. A4, 5; B2 ont en commun l'intervention soudaine de la Princesse; mais tandis que dans B2 elle se mêle à l'entretien du Roi et d'Arinello et réussit à obtenir le consentement paternel à sa réunion avec le page chéri, le dénouement diffère dans A4 et A5. Ici, les amants profitent d'une absence momentanée du Sultan pour chercher le salut dans la fuite. (Dans C7 la Princesse donne aussi au page le conseil de fuir: mais l'exécution de ce projet est sur-le-champs frustrée par le Roi, ce qui a pour suite l'intervention de l'Infante.)

10. C1b, 89-104; C7, 57 et suiv.: Le Roi convoque un conseil des vassaux ("pois tudo tendes ouvido," C1) pour juger Reginaldo. Tandis que dans C1 le page est condamné à mort, dans C7 les grands ne s'unissent pas pour une telle sentence, de crainte d'irriter l'Infante, héritière du trône. Dans cette version, dont, le Roi, cédant à l'indécision des comtes et au désir impérieux de sa fille, consent à se faire l'auteur du bonheur des amants.

Dans C1b cependant, la conclusion véritable, qui ne devait plus comprendre que peu de vers et ressembler à celle de C7, paraît s'être perdue de bonne heure, et il a fallu recourir à un épisode nouveau pour motiver la non-exécution de l'arrêt de mort et la réunion finale du couple. Ainsi les chanteurs populaires du Ribatéjo en sont venus à rattacher au corps de la romance, par une certaine association d'idées, la scène du donjon, avec le soldo de Reginaldo prisonnier. (Une partie en a aussi passé dans la scène finale de la version C4.) À signaler l'analogie de cet épisode avec les romances du Conde Niño ou Nillo et avec celles de Pedro Menino ou Pequeno. Voir aussi Hardung, p. 109, note 1: "Na lição de A. Garrett (C1b) o final pertence visivelmente ao romance da Enganada (Estacio da Veiga, 'Romo. do Algarve,' p. 129-133)," et Th. Braga, 'C. e R. G.,' iii, p. 171: "O final... parece uma addição do romance hespanhol de Virgílios" (cf. 'C. e R. G.,' i, p. 178-183); à mon avis, bien plus de ressemblance avec la romance catalane:

S'en estava Don Francisco  
tancat dins de la presó

(Milá y Fontanals 'Rillo. Cat.,' No. 207: "El poder del canto"). Dans le 'Chronicon Laurenschamense' il y a aussi, et bien plus prolixe, le récit du conseil tenu pour juger le coupable. Mais là, c'est l'Empereur qui raconte à l'assemblée ce que, le matin, il a vu de ses propres yeux. Diverses sentences sont proposées par les contes. Charles prononce un long discours, souvent fort peu à propos, où il s'étend sur les vicissitudes de la vie humaine, puis, spécialement, sur le cas d'Eginhard; il conclut en disant qu'il aime mieux marier les délinquents que de rendre le scandale public, "et rei probose honestatis colorem superducam" (Lui aussi parle *Como quem sabe fallar!* cf. C7). "Regis igitur audita sententia fit incomparabile gaudium," donc point de jalousie, comme dans C7a. Eginhard est amené; nouveau discours de l'Empereur, qui finit par lui donner sa fille en mariage.

J'ajoute deux mots au sujet des personnages. Charlemagne apparaît dans toutes nos ro-

mances simplement comme "le Roi" (sans nom; A5 le fait Sultans<sup>8</sup> de Constantinople). A6 connaît aussi la Reine, dont il n'est pas question dans la légende latine. La fille de Charlemagne, Imma, reste fille de roi, sous le nom d'Enilda,<sup>59</sup> qui, cependant, n'apparaît que dans A4 et 5; seulement dans A5 elle devient sultane, et dans A10 elle est remplacée par dona Maria de Linares. L'amant subit le plus de métamorphoses; et pas seulement pour le nom, qui présente des formes très variées.<sup>60</sup> D'archichapelain et protonotaire de Charle-

<sup>58</sup> Il est probable que la première idée de cette dénomination soit venue à l'auteur de A5 de ce que le mot "Sultan" se trouve réellement une fois dans la version A4 (au v. 95, dans la *cuadra* interpolée), circonstance pour laquelle M. Braga veut voir à cette variante "uma côr mourisca da fronteira." Ou serait-ce à cause de la mention faite de la Tatarie (v. 109), où il pourrait y avoir une confusion populaire avec la Barbarie, facile à expliquer par l'homophonie approximative des noms?—ou bien, parce qu'il est question d'un baptême aux derniers vers?—Devra-t-on supposer une "teinte mauresque" (d'autre nature) à la version du Maroc A10?

<sup>59</sup> Ou, avec l's paragogique, Enildas, comme on est libre de dire Juanita ou Juanitas, Matilde-s Marica-s, Mariquina-s, Gerinaldo-s.—La dérivation du nom? Probablement de *Ena* pour *Ema*, à l'intention de *Ana*; les deux noms pourraient s'être présentés en même temps à l'imagination populaire. Le suffixe *-ilda* fut emprunté à Matilda (Matilde), Cacilda, Izilda, Deonildes; des noms (d'homme) gothiques (tels que Atanagildo, Hermenegildo) et de nombreux noms topographiques (Neovegilde) favorisaient cette formation.

<sup>60</sup> À l'origine, Einhart ou Eginhardus, du vx.-ht.-Alld. *aganhart*=*consilio strenuus*. Dans la péninsule Hispanique, nous avons à supposer dès l'abord les deux formes Eginardo et Eginardo (comme Bernardo=Bernaldo); elles se sont perdues dans une série de dérivations, dont la plus grande variété revient au Portugal.

1. D'Eginardo on fit \*Reginaldo, d'où, par métathèse, pgs. Gerinaldo C5 (la désinence de ce nom purement littéraire et inconnu au peuple aura causé qu'il y substitua celui de Leonardo, dans C7, tandis que sa supplantation par Dom Alberto C9 est complètement arbitraire).

2. Deuxième série: pgs. Eginardo (dans une version du Bétra, v. Garrett, 'Romo.' ii, p. 156)—pgs. Reginaldo C1; cast. Gerinaldo A1-9 (d'où \*Erinaldo; cat. Arinello B2); cat. Girinaldo (cf. A10); pgs. Gerinaldo C2 et 6, pgs. Girinaldo C4, pgs. Generaldo (dans l'Alemtejo, selon Garrett). De là, le peuple pouvait facilement en venir à créer un général C8 comme amant de la Princesse, bien que, au point de vue étymologique, cela puisse fort bien n'être qu'un dérivé, plus avancé, de Generaldo (cf. pgs. Bernardo=naldon): en effet, par son application dans la romance C8, "General" paraît moitié nom propre, moitié appellatif; le m. tre, d'ailleurs, s'oppose à cette forme abrégée.

Le surnom "Pampolino," donné à l'amant dans B2, veut dire probablement "gentil gaillard"; il rappelle "pimpollo," qu'on aime à employer dans ce sens.



magne qu'il est dans le récit latin, il devient chambellan du Roi dans A1 et 3, page dans la majorité des versions, noble Seigneur (Dom Alberto) dans C9, un gentil comte (*lindo conde*) dans C6, général dans C8, *capitá general* et *Conde* dans A10, enfin, dans A5, capitaine des gardes et *secretario efectivo* du Grand Turc, avec le surnom du batailleur (*aguerrido*). Par un drôle de mésentendu, qu'on s'expliquera aisément, A2 a encore créé un *camarero* Pulio, au service spécial de l'Infante.

Je ne voudrais conclure sans avoir au moins signalé les groupes de romances qui, grâce à leurs sujets respectifs, sont inséparables de la famille de Gerineldo et s'y affilient en quelque sorte. Ce sont surtout les romances du Conde (del) Sol; du Conde Claros (D. Cales, Carlos) de Montalbán ou Montealvar, ou Conde de Montes Claros; d'Albaninha ou de Galiarda; de Dona Ausenda ou Enxendria, Urgelia (Princesa Alexendra); de Don Galván; du Conde Niño ou Nillo ou Olinos, Dom Doardos ou Diniz, etc.; de la Peregrina, de l'Enganada; de Pedro Menino ou Pequeno. Une partie de ces romances remonte certainement plus ou moins à la même source que celles de Gerineldo, de laquelle elles représentent des rejetons plus éloignés. Ces différentes familles ont encore poussé entre elles des ramifications compliquées et parfois inextricables. Quelque aride que puisse du reste paraître la précédente énumération, elle aura ce mérite de mieux faire connaître combien sont profondes les racines que la tradition d'Eginhard a jetées dans les populations de l'Espagne.<sup>63</sup>

61 V. aussi Braga, 'O Povo português,' ii, p. 409: "O cyclo da mulher forte."

62 Voir aussi l'attachante peinture de Pidal, p. x, en bas: "ces poésies sont chantées par la vieille assise près du foyer; par le berger, rentrant à sa chaumière dans les crépuscules du soir; par les filles et les garçons dans les "ruidosas esfoyazas" (pgs. *esfolhadas*), en été, et en hiver "en los nocturnos hilanderos." Cette popularité est aussi attestée par la circonstance qu'encore des *pliegos sueltos* récents mentionnent parfois Gerineldo comme le modèle d'un amant ou d'un galant consommé, "la norma y espejo de galanes." Cf. "Pasillo nuevo ejecutado entre tio Curso el enamorado y Pepe el valentón," Carmona, s. a.: "Y el que ronda de sequero—unque *Gerineldo* sea—lo desprecia la más fea—si no le sienta dinero"—et "Nuevo y curioso romance de... Juan Soldado," Valladolid s. a.: "Iba yo delante dellos—más galán que *Gerineldo*." M. Pidal (pp. 283, 284) cite, dans une romance du seizième siècle, traitant des noces de *Mio Cid*, le passage que voici: "Más galán que *Gerineldo*—baja el Cid famoso al patio."

#### APPENDICE: LA *tonada*.

Les mélodies des romances de Gerineldo (et du Conde Claros) n'ont, malencontreusement, point encore trouvé d'éditeur.<sup>63</sup> Le caractère général n'en diffèrera pas de celui des autres *tonadas* de romances, dont nombre ont été publiées dans diverses collections d'airs nationaux.<sup>64</sup> Pourtant il serait d'un haut intérêt de connaître la mélodie précisément de ces romances; qu'on entende ce qu'en dit M. Braga, 'C. e R. G.,' iv, p. 4: "Os romances de Gerinaldo tem a particularidade de serem a *mnemónica da musica ou toada dos outros cantares*."<sup>65</sup> Voilà donc la véritable mélodie modèle du genre romanesque qui va être publiée la dernière! Pour se faire une idée approximative de cette espèce de diction musicale, on pourra à peu près s'en tenir aux observations que T. de C. (dans la *Renaxensa*) présente sur les *cants hebráichs ó árabes*, puisque toute la musique populaire de la Péninsule remonte à celle des Arabes.<sup>66</sup> On se rappelle d'ailleurs que la déclamation, pratiquée par les chanteurs de voie, les aveugles et les vieilles, se fait sur un ton moitié récitatif, moitié chantant, mais toujours monotone et sans aucune division prosodique. L'instrument préféré des chanteurs de profession ambulants est la guitare, celui des villageois la *viola*, tandis que les bergers—très experts et affectionnés au chant, en Portugal—se servent de *flautas* et de *pifaros* taillés de leurs

63 Sauf la musique de la version du Maroc A10, qui nous est inaccessible. Cf. Mill y Fontanals, 'Poes. her.' p. 356, note 2:

"T'envio... lo romans de Girineldo... junt ab la *tonada mon:tona* ab que per tradici; desdeh segle xvi ó xvii l'acompanyan y que no deixa de recordar la mateixa\* ab que en certa part del nostre bon terral de Catalunya lo havem sentit entonar per bocas femeninas."

Suivent des indications sur l'accompagnement au luth, habituel au Maroc.

\*Ces paroles prouvent qu'il y a des variantes.

64 Par exemple, Pelay Briz, 'Cansons de la Terra,' Barcelona, 1866; Sorcano Fuertes, 'Hist. de la Música Española,' Madrid, 1856; A. A. das Neves e Mello, 'Músicas e Canções populares,' Lisboa, 1872.

65 Ce qui n'empêche pas que cette romance ne soit parfois chantée sur une mélodie étrangère; voir la charmante idylle champêtre que donne M. Pidal, p. ix, où il dit entre autres: "El labriego... la ahijada al hombro, el alma adormida en gratos recuerdos, entona los amores de *Gerineldo y la Infanta* al són de 'La bendita Madalena.'"

66 Cf. Hardung, p. vi.



propres mains.<sup>67</sup>—Pour certaines mélodies on trouve des louanges enthousiastes chez Milá y Fontanals, par exemple, "Obs.," p. 92 et pp. 100, 101 note. Pourrait-on compter celles des romances de Gerineldo parmi elles?

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### LEBRIJA

#### AND THE ROMANCE FUTURE TENSE.

A BRIEF notice would seem appropriate in the closing issue of MOD. LANG. NOTES for this year, to call to mind the discovery in Romance morphology which marks for the scholar in this field an important point in the history of scientific grammar. In 1492 the first Spanish grammar was published at Salamanca by Antonio de Lebrija (or Lebrixa :<sup>1</sup> 1444-1522), who was for a quarter of a century Professor at the University of Salamanca; one of the most learned men of his age, a celebrated reformer of university methods and a restorer of letters in Spain. This grammatical treatise is a rare quarto volume, printed in Gothic letter, consisting of sixty-four folios, without titlepage, pagination or catchwords, with thirty-four lines of print to the full page. The British Museum copy, from which are taken the extracts given below, has a few manuscript notes on the margins. A counterfeit of the Salamanca edi-

<sup>67</sup> Pour les instruments de musique populaires en général, comparez Th. Braga, 'O Povo. Português,' i, ii, *passim* (voir l'*Indice analytico* à la fin du second volume I), surtout i, p. 403-409.

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to understand why Blanc, 'Grammatik der Italiänischen Sprache' (Halle, 1844), p. 360, should have adopted the spelling *Lebrija* of this name, unless it was thus used by him at second hand. This form does appear on the titlepage of posthumous Spanish works of Lebrija, but as far as I am able to discover from material before me (cf. 'British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books,' s. v. Antonio, *de Lebrixa, the Elder*) not before 1565 (that is nearly half a century after the author's death) in the famous 'Chronica de los muy altos y esclarecidos reyes Catholicos don Fernando y doña Ysabel de Gloriosa memoria...' Of course in his Latin works we have the Epithet *Nebrissensis* (Nebrissa, in Hispania Bætica) added to Ælius Antonius, the name by which our author was generally known to scholars of his time. It would seem, therefore, that the Halle Professor in speaking of the origin of the Romance Future, referred at second hand to Lebrija's grammar, otherwise he would have naturally used that spelling of the name given in the work itself, especially as it is the form by which the eminent Spanish savant "qui chassa la barbarie" from his native

tion was published about 1770.<sup>2</sup> The Author, a second Columbus in the domain of letters, who may have known personally the 'world-finding Genoese,' and a townsman of that other less-noted explorer of American domains, Juan Diaz de Solis, analyses with unerring perception and states clearly and succinctly the constituent elements of the Spanish (Romance) Future and Conditional tenses; namely, they are periphrases composed of the Infinitive of whatever verb used, and the Present and Imperfect tenses respectively of *haber*.

In presenting the text of the original edition, the first treatment of this important subject, it may be of interest to compare the Spanish author's statement with that contained in another quarto volume of ninety folios by the Italian, L. Castelvetro, published nearly three quarters of a century later, under the title 'Quinta Fatta al Ragionamento degli Articoli et de Verbi di Messer Pietro Bembo.' (In Modona, MDLXIII),—which represents the second oldest independent testimony, as far as I know, to the origin of the Romance Future and Conditional forms. For the explanation of the latter, Castelvetro is not sure of his ground; according to his idea, as will be observed, both the old and modern language and one of the Franco-Italic dialects, have contributed material for this capriciously formed grammar category. In the following extracts, I have given the beginning and ending of Lebrija's work, together with the special chapter devoted to the subject here under consideration. For the purpose of comparison with the Spanish text, the Italian text of Castelvetro's treatise follows, arranged according to the folios and headings under which he distributed the material represented in the Spanish.

country, is commonly known to modern scholars. The unusual orthography of Blanc has found frequent repetition in the later treatment of Romance forms; as, for example, in the French translation of Diez' 'Grammatik' (third edition) by Morel-Fatio and G. Paris, vol. ii, p. 109, note 2, in the fifth edition of Diez' 'Grammatik,' p. 490, note 2; in the well-known article by Thielmann on "Habere mit dem Infinitif und die Entstehung des Romanischen Futurums," *Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie*, vol. ii, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Graesse, 'Trésor de livres rares et précieux,' vol. iv, p. 653, S. v. *Nebrissensis*.

*fol. 2 r.* \*\*\* Comiença la gramatica que nueva mente hizo el maestro Antonio de lebrija sobre la lengua castellana.

*fol. 67 v.* Acabose este tratado de Grāmatica que nueva mente hizo el maestro Antonio de lebrija sobre la lēgua castellana Enel año del salvador de mil & CCCCXCIJ. a XVIIJ de Agosto. Empreſſo en la mui noble ciudad de Salamanca.

Capitulo . XJ . Delos circunloquios del verbo.

*fol. 40 v.*

El futuro dize por rodeo del infinitivo & del presente deste verbo. e. as. diziendo io amare. tu amaras que vale tanto como io e de amar. tu as de amar. En esta manera dize por rodeo el pasado no acabado del subjunctivo con el infinitivo & el pasado no acabado del indicativo deste verbo. e. as. diziēdo io amaria. io leeria . que vale tanto como io avia de amar . io avia de leer. Y si alguno dixiere que amaré amaria . & leere leeria : no fon dichos por rodeo deste verbo . e. as. ia. ias. preguntaremos le : quando dezimos affi : el virgilio que me diste : leer telo e. & leer telo ia : si tu quieres : o si tu quisieſſes . e. ia. que partes fon dela oracion : es forçado que responda que es verbo.

*fol. 54.*

Particella Qvarantesima

Hora per la formatione uera di questo tempo é da sapere, che la lingua nostra non ha uoce semplice futura se non tre sole in un uerbo difusato, o non ufato mai, & sono queste. FIA, FIE, o FIA. FIENO o FIANO o FIERO \* \* \* . ma le ha composte del presente del uerbo Hauere, & dello'nfinito del uerbo il cui futuro si richiede, dicendosi Dire ho nella guisa che si dice appresso i Greci λέγειν ἔχω , & appresso i latini Dicere habeo significandosi il futuro λέξω Dicam.

Particella Cinquantesima terza.

*fol. 65.*

Adunque Amerei col rimanente delle sue uoci compagne é composto dello'nfinito del suo uerbo cioè d'Amare, e del Preterito d'Ho piegato in alcuna uoce all'antica, & in alcune altre alla Lombarda, & in alcune alla Toscana moderna, come Hei per Hebbe, Hesti per Hauesti, Hebbe, Hemmo per Hauenmo, Heste per Haueste, Hebbono o Hebbono. Onde riescono Amerei, Amereſti, Amerebbe, Ameremmo, Amereſte, Amerebbono, o Amerebbe-ro.

Appresso AMERIA, e le altre uoci compagne, che non sono piu che tre, o al piu quattro, cioè Ameria prima persona, & Ameria terza del numero del meno, et Ameriano terza del piu, & alcuna uolta Ameriamo prima del piu \* \* \* si compongono dello'nfinito del suo verbo, pogniamo Amare, & del preterito imperfetto Ibam, Ibat, Ibant, Ibamus. Cioè IA, IA, IANO, IAMO \* \* \* .

A. M. E.

ON THE RELATION OF BEN JON-  
SON'S 'Epicæne' to Molière's 'Médecin  
malgré lui' and 'Femmes  
savantes'.<sup>1</sup>

OF the learned critics who have discussed the sources of 'Le Médecin malgré lui' and 'Les femmes savantes,' only a single one asserts a relation between Jonson and Molière. Neither Lotheissen nor Mahrenholtz, to mention only those who are most to be relied upon, are of opinion that Molière should have made use of Jonson's piece. And as to the author who affirms that Molière "took his good" in Jonson, too, I mean Mézières, he has run into an error which escaped the attention of all those who, after him, treated of the sources of the French plays. On page two hundred and six of his work: 'Prédécesseurs et Contemporains de Shakespeare' (1881), Mézières says:

"Dans une scène qui devance une situation analogue des *Précieuses ridicules* et des *Femmes savantes*, il est invité à lire des vers de sa façon, et il débite avec une complaisance affectée le morceau suivant," and so on. "Toute la coterie féminine pousse alors des cris d'enthousiasme; ce sont des exclamations, des soupirs, une violence d'admiration qui ne connaît plus de bornes. On croit entendre déjà Bélise, Armande et Philaminte applaudir Trissotin."

There is no scene of this kind in Jonson's piece. I can't but think that Mézières, when writing this, had in mind the second scene of the second act of the English comedy which has something analogous, and notwithstanding very different, in it. There is Jack Daw, "un Trissotin, doublé de Mascarille," to use Mézières' words, reading verses to Clerimont, Dauphine and Epicæne who are not spare in applauding. But these persons are no "coterie féminine," and their applause is ironically meant. So that one whom I might cite in asserting a relation between the French and English pieces is in no wise an authority to be trusted.

Notwithstanding, I think there are some places in both 'Le Médecin malgré lui' and 'Les femmes savantes' which are so similar to places in the English comedy that a connection between them must be assumed,

<sup>1</sup> For the idea of this topic I am indebted to Professor A. Kissner, Königsberg, Prussia.

though Mahrenholtz, on page three hundred and eight of his work, says that an acquaintance with the English language and literature is not to be supposed.

As to the former of Molière's pieces, these are my proofs for saying that the celebrated French author knew, and made use of, Jonson's comedy. Whoever has read Jonson's stirring work, remembers that Morose, as Clerimont says (i, 1), "has employed a fellow . . . all over England to hearken him out a dumb woman; . . . her silence is dowry enough," he says." And, at another place, we hear Morose say to Cutbeard: "I know what thou wouldst say, she's poor, and her friends deceased. She has brought a wealthy dowry in her silence." In the same manner, Molière makes Sganarelle say: "Et qui est ce sot-là qui ne veut pas que sa femme soit muette? Plût à Dieu que ma femme eût cette maladie! Je me garderais bien de la vouloir guérir." We see that both the English and the French author embody the same opinion in one of their personages. Nothing in that scene of Molière's provokes Sganarelle to utter those words; the more reason for thinking that there is no mere coincidence, but a reminiscence.

There is another scene in the 'Médecin malgré lui,' where I should think Molière was influenced by Jonson. Immediately after having become Morose's wife, the so-called 'Silent Woman' disproves being dumb. So fluently do the words pour from her mouth that Morose is quite overwhelmed and dismayed and, there is no doubt about it, though the words are not in the text, wishes in his heart she might again become silent.

Likewise, Lucinde in the French piece, after having been, to her father's grief, for a long time thought dumb, addresses her father in such hasty words suffering of no contradiction, to marry her to her lover, that Géronte who, until then, had employed all possible means to deliver his daughter from her pretended dumbness, conceives the same thought which had, as seen in the preceding lines, united the minds of Morose and Sganarelle; for he exclaims (iii, 6): "Monsieur, je vous prie de la faire redevenir muette."

There are some proofs more which in themselves would, as far as I can judge, not suffice

to show a connection of the 'Médecin malgré lui' with 'Epicène.' I should, by no means, lay stress on them, if they were the only proof of my thesis; but, added to the other and surer proofs from the same piece and to those from 'Les femmes savantes,' they are of some worth. In 'Epicène' we see a captain appear as a lawyer, and a barber as a parson; Molière's comedy shows a peasant acting as a physician. To appear a learned personage, it suffices to wear the clothes usually worn by lawyers, parsons and physicians and, besides, to "smatter" Latin, though it be forged; Otter and Cutbeard in Jonson's piece, and Sganarelle in Molière's 'Médecin malgré lui' are in like manner acknowledged by the public surrounding them as thoroughbred learned men. I should think Molière owed that good trait to his English predecessor, just as he borrowed a thought expressed by Martine in the quarrel with her husband beginning the comedy, from a similar one of Captain Otter's wife. The "she-Otter" in the first scene of the fourth act reproaches her dissolute and slandering husband with having raised him out of the dust, and Sganarelle, who is given to his bottle just as the captain is to his cups, is forced to hear from the mouth of his wife: "Devrais-tu être un seul moment sans rendre grâces au ciel de m'avoir pour ta femme, et méritais-tu d'épouser une femme comme moi?" It is true, there is no conformity in the words, but surely there is some in the thought.

## II.

In speaking of the relation between pieces such as 'Epicène' and 'Les femmes savantes,' I know, I may easily incur the danger of assuming agreements where there are mere coincidences. Surely I cannot afford to say that Molière borrowed the subject of his much and justly admired piece from Jonson, though the then woman's mania of being or appearing learned is ridiculed by both comedies. So numerous are the pieces of ancient and modern literatures which are cited by critics as leading a character or a scene to that "mosaic work" of Molière's, that I hesitate very much to utter an opinion. Jonson's learned ladies I should rather style "précieuses

ridicules." By their entirely physical love shown in their most indecent behaviour to Dauphine (first scene of the first act) they differ much from the "femmes savantes" of Molière's piece and resemble more the ladies in Molière's earlier comedy alluded to in the preceding lines. Though Molière's thought of making his learned ladies plan an academy is not due to Jonson (for there existed something of that kind in reality), there is, nevertheless, a great agreement in the manner in which Jonson's and Molière's heroines execute or wish to execute their government over the minds of their fellow-men. The lady members of the college in Jonson's piece are (i, 1) said to "cry down or up what they like or dislike in a brain or a fashion, with most masculine, or rather hermaphroditical manner." That, with some restriction, is just the plan of the ladies in Molière's comedy, who, in the second scene of the third act, declare:

"Nous serons, par nos lois, les juges des ouvrages;  
Par nos lois, prose et vers, tout nous sera soumis;  
Nul n'aura de l'esprit, hors nous et nos amis.  
Nous chercherons partout à trouver à redire,  
Et ne verrons que nous qui sachent bien écrire."

I say once more the agreement lies less in the plan itself than in the absolute manner in which the English and French ladies behave. The ladies' language, too, is different from other peoples'. In Jonson's comedy Truewit calls his companions' attention to Mrs. Otter's way of speaking (iii, 1): "but mark her language in the mean-time, I beseech you"; and Sir Dauphine himself tickles her ears by loudly, though indeed ironically, saying: "What an excellent choice phrase this lady expresses in." To prove that Molière's learned ladies do the same, I think I need not add scenes; for it is well known that Philaminte who has the same rôle in the French piece as "the grave and youthful matron" (i, 1 Truewit) Lady Haughty, the president of the college in Jonson's work, goes as far as to turn her servant out doors for not being able to "parler Vaugelas."

In some regard she is like Mrs. Otter; just as the latter "commands all at home" (i, La Foole) and "chastizes her subject," that is her husband, to her heart's content, the former does not, though from another motive, allow hers to contradict her in anything she



wishes or does. Sganarelle, of whom I have spoken above, and Chrysale have each something of Captain Otter in them. Otter is, in the fourth scene of the second act, said by Truewit to rail "on his wife, with certain commonplaces behind her back; and to her face —." In the first scene of the fourth act he says: "I confess, gentlemen, I have a cook, a laundress, a house-drudge, that serves my necessary turns, and goes under that title." He slanders her in the utmost manner until she makes her appearance, and then he is "under correction" of his "good princess." Chrysale is in no wise so mean a character. But he, too, behind his wife's back, affirms himself to be the master of his house, and promises things (as in the case of the old female servant Martine) which, in her presence, he is obliged to revoke. And though he thinks the marriage of his daughter to be his work and imagines his will to be performed at least in this case, it is clearly shown by the last scenes of the piece that the union of Henriette and her lover is not executed, before Philaminte, undeceived of Trissotin's meanness, has given up her resistance. So this lady (not unlike Martine in Molière's other comedy) remains "mistress of her subject" to the last, just as the "she-Otter" in the English work.

There are some more points in which Molière's ladies resemble the English collegiates. The latter whose "actions are governed by crude opinions, without reason or cause (iv, 2)" have at first thought Dauphine "a very pitiful knight" and "a very shark," because they "as they are informed" (by authorities such as Daw and La-Foole, in this case) "believe, judge, praise, condemn, love, hate." But having seen him not to be what he appeared to them, each of them endeavours to gain for herself that knight who is at last believed to be "as fine a gentleman of his inches, as any is about the town." And they do so in a way which renders them most ridiculous; for, to make him come to their respective chambers "one of these mornings early or late in an evening," they slander each other and try to disparage their rivals. Much (though not wholly) the same thing occurs with Molière's learned ladies. They cannot be said, it is true, to "have a natural inclination sway, them generally to

the worst, when they are left to themselves"; their love, I acknowledged before, is purer than that evinced by Lady Haughty and her companions. But Belinde's and Armande's endeavours to gain or to recover Clitandre's affection do not differ much from those of the collegiates; especially Armande's efforts to cut out her own sister, and all her behaviour in this affair might be claimed by those ladies. Dauphine is an agreeable "probationer" for the ladies giving themselves much trouble every day to gain to their college some new member, immediately after they have been undeceived of their idols' intrinsic worth; Clitandre is an acceptable son-in-law to Philaminte, as soon as Trissotin's futility has come to light. The latter, just as his fellow-poet Vadius, displays a quality which Jonson attributes to his "bard." Jack Daw, a "precious mannikin" who thinks Homer "an old, tedious, prolix ass," and swears his own verses "are the best that ever man made," takes every opportunity to read them; for, according to him, "an author must recite his own works" (ii, 2). No sooner has it been declared by Lady Haughty in the second scene of the third act that an epithalamium was a want, than he says: "Yes, madam, I'll make an epithalamium, I promise my mistress; I have begun it already; will your ladyship hear it?" Likewise, the poets playing a part in Molière's piece press eagerly for reciting their own works which each of them thinks unparalleled. Both the comedies exhibit a scene where two "protested" fools congratulate each other on qualities which neither of them, in his heart, attributes to his so-called friend. In the fifth act of *Epicène*, Daw and La-Foole, instigated by Clerimont, extoll one another's merits by which each of them is said to be the prime man in the ladies' affections and direct all their actions. Trissotin and Vadius do not, it is true, praise each other from the same motive (for their talk turns on their poems); nevertheless, I should rather hazard the opinion that that scene reminded one of the mentioned scenes in the English author's comedy.

Lastly, I have to speak of a scene of Molière's work where, in the space of one page, two tests of my thesis are contained; I mean the third

scene of the first act. Not so because Clitandre, with whose reasonable opinions those of the author himself, to be sure, are to be identified, blames the mania of the women of the time to be and appear learned, just as Chrysale does in the seventh scene of the second act, and he agrees with Jonson in that blame in general; for that is, in my opinion, quite natural considering the like subject of the pieces. But Clitandre, in agreement with Jonson, utters a thought which is not a natural consequence of that subject and that is why all this finds a place here. By saying:

"Et j'aime que souvent, aux questions qu'on fait,  
Elle sache ignorer les choses qu'elle sait;  
De son étude enfin je veux qu'elle se cache;  
Et qu'elle ait du savoir sans vouloir qu'on le sache,"

he repeats old Morose's thought who addresses his wife that is to be, in this manner: ". . . . And do you alone so much differ from all them, that what they, with so much circumstance, affect and toil for, to seem learn'd, to seem judicious, to seem sharp and concealed, you can bury in yourself with silence . . . .?" And Clitandre's lady-love, in answering his words utterly depreciative of her own mother, gives him counsel which we hear Truewit give his friend Dauphine in *Epicene* (iv, 1): "and fail not to make the household and servants yours, yea the whole family, and salute them by their names ('t is but light cost, if you can purchase them so) and make her physician your pensioner, and her chief woman." Molière has expressed the same thought in this manner:

"Un amant fait sa cour où s'attache son cœur;  
Il veut de tout le monde y gagner la faveur;  
Et pour n'avoir personne à sa flamme contraire,  
Jusqu'au chien du logis il s'efforce de plaire."

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#### *E in TUTTI E TRE, TUTTE E TRE.\**

THE latest expression on this subject is found in 'Philologische Abhandlungen Heinrich Schweizer-Sidler, zur Feier des fünfzigjährigen Jubiläums seiner Docententhätigkeit an

\*The subject includes *e* in the combination of *tutti*, *tutte* with all numerals from *due* to *novè* inclusive. *Tre* is written throughout merely to prevent any possible confusion in the mind of the reader.

der Zürcher Hochschule': "Tutti e tre," von Heinrich Morf. The first two pages of the article review previous opinions as to this *e*, as follows:

Salviati<sup>2</sup> thought it was equivalent to a shortened *cioè*,—omnes, id est tres (Diez, 'Gram.,' iii<sup>3</sup>, 40 note, does not accept this suggestion)—Ascoli<sup>3</sup> makes mention of it in speaking of another word: "La voce per *ambo è amanduos*, in notevole accordo coll'*it. amendue*, e deve trattarsi di *amb-ed-due*, cfr. *tutti e tre*." "Auch das wird nicht befriedigen" (Morf); "Als Copula verstanden hätte es keinen Sinn" (Diez)—Blanc<sup>4</sup> saw in the *e* the plural of the masculine article "welcher bei den alten häufig *e* statt *i* lautete." Its use was extended also to feminine nouns, before which it took the place of the feminine article: *tutte e tre le donne*. Morf says of this view:

"Schon Diez hat Blanc entgegengehalten, dass dann unerklärt bleibt, warum man heute nicht auch *tutti e cavalli* sagt, das selbstverständlich von den ältern Texten, welche überhaupt *e* statt *i* haben, geboten wird. Man wird es unerklärlich finden, dass die Italienische Schriftsprache diese Form des Artikels in der Verbindung von *tutti tutte* mit kardinalien bevorzugt haben, sonst aber der gewöhnlichen Form *i* treu geblieben sein und auf diese Weise einen vorher augenfälligen Parallelismus der konstruktion zerstört haben sollte.—Was aber vollends Blanc's Auffassung unhaltbar macht ist der Umstand dass diejenigen Texte, welche als Pluralform des masc. Artikels *e* bieten, gar nicht *tutti e tre* sondern *tutti a tre* aufweisen."

Having reached a construction in which an *a* occurs, the rest of the article consists of a discussion of this construction, showing that the *a* does not represent the preposition *ad*, but that the original form was *tutta tre*, and a remnant of the Latin neuter. The writer comes near his subject again only when he says *tutta > tutte* by analogy to *due*. But the *e* is left altogether unnoticed. Ascoli's explanation "wird nicht befriedigen," Blanc's is "unhaltbar," but nothing else is suggested. Does *tutta tre* have any bearing on the question of *e* in *tutti e tre*? Evidently not, for

<sup>1</sup> "Zürich," 1891, pp. 71-79.

<sup>2</sup> "Avvertimenti della lingua sopra il Decamerone" Milano, 1809 Lib. 4, part 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Archivio Glottologico Italiano*, i, 204.

<sup>4</sup> "Grammatik der Italienischen Sprache." Halle, 1844.

his first point is that the *a* is joined to *tutt* (*tutta tre* and not *tutt-a-tre*). "Die gemeinromanische Grundlage ist freilich die Nominalkonstruktion *toti tres*"; from this we derive *tutti tre*, and from *tota tria*, *tutta tre*, but this in no way explains *e* in *tutti e tre*.

My object is, first, to give sound reasons against supposing this *e* to be another form of the masculine plural article *i*, and, secondly, to prove that it is equivalent to *et*.

Diez founded his objection to its being the article on the assertion that, as it was not used in such a construction as *tutti e cavalli* neither could it be supposed to be the article in *tutti e tre*. That such constructions were usual, the following quotations will show: 'Dodici Conti Morali,'<sup>5</sup> p. 5, *tutti e frati*; p. 8, *tutti e monaci*; p. 27, *tutti e vostri peccati*; p. 33, *tutti e suoi beni*; p. 81, *tutti e suoi peccati*; p. 100, *tutti e beni*, *tutti e sollazzi*; p. 103, *tutti e folli fatti*; *e tutti e folli detti*; p. 121, *tutti e cristiani*;—'Lamenti storici'<sup>6</sup> p. 227, *tutti e gran signori*;—'Hecatompila'<sup>7</sup> p. 23, *tutti e suoi lacci*; 'Burcelo'<sup>8</sup> *tutti e nostri paesi*.

Neither is Morf's assertion, that the texts (in which *e* is used as masculine plural article) when they come to the construction with *tutti* and a numeral employ *tutti a tre*, borne out by the facts, as the following examples will show: 'Dodici Conti Morali,' (l. c.) *tutti e tre*, and *tutte e tre*; 'Decamerone'<sup>9</sup> *tutti tre*, *tutti e tre*, *tutti et tre*, *tutti & tre*; 'Zenone da Pistoja':<sup>10</sup> *tutte tre*; 'Morgante Maggiore':<sup>11</sup> *tutti a tre*, but also *tutti tre*, *tutti et tre*; 'Burcelo,' (l. c.) *tutti tre*.

Of these texts, all of which use *e* for masculine plural article *i*, in only one (Pulci) does *tutti a tre* occur, and here we find also *tutti et tre*. Morf's assertion is, consequently, no

<sup>5</sup> "Dodici Conti Morali" d'Anonimo Senese (*Scelta di Curiosità Letterarie*, ix). Bologna, 1862.

<sup>6</sup> "Lamenti storici dei secoli xiv, xv, et xvi" (*Scelta*, ecc., ccxix). Bologna, 1887.

<sup>7</sup> 'Hecatompila' de Misser L. B. Alberto. Vineggia, 1534.

<sup>8</sup> 'Li Soneti del Burcelo Fiorentino.' Vineggia, 1477.

<sup>9</sup> 'Il Decamerone' di Messer Giov. Boccaccio. Venetia, 1471.

<sup>10</sup> 'La pietosa Fonte,' da Zenone da Pistoja (*Scelta*, ecc., cxxxvii) Bologna, 1874.

<sup>11</sup> 'I Fatti di Carlo-magno, e de suoi Paladini.' Opere dei Morgante. Date in luce per Pulci. Venetia, 1481.

argument against *e* being an equivalent of *i* in *tutti e tre*, but, rather than proving the contrary, the assertion leaves us as free to suppose it is such an equivalent in this construction as in *tutti e cavalli* and the like.

I do not believe that the *e* is another form of *i*, but am not satisfied with the objections against such a supposition given by Diez and Morf, as I have just shown. My objection is based on the three following facts:

First, in no one instance is *tutt'i tre* written. We find *tutt'i miei*, *tutt'i suoi* and *tutt'i* with nouns (as, *tutt'i cavalli*) but never with numerals (*tutt'i tre*). Now if the authors who used *e* as masculine plural article with nouns (*tutti e cavalli*) also used the regular *i* by the side of it (*tutti i cavalli*), so, if in their usage of it with numerals (*tutti e tre*) there was a consciousness that the *e* was the same as *i*, this *i* would certainly occur in some instance; its non-occurrence, then, indicates that there was no such feeling.

Secondly, in no instance does *e* occur as representing the feminine plural article *le*, but this latter form is always written in full (*tutte le donne*, not *tutte e donne*). If then it is granted that *e* is the equivalent of *i* in *tutti e tre*, what can it be in *tutte e tre*? It cannot be either masculine or feminine article. It is impossible to say it is the same as *i* or *le* and illogical to explain it in one construction (*tutti e tre*) and not in the other (*tutte e tre*). It must be the article in both or neither.

Thirdly, in the texts where we find *e* by the side of *i* as the masculine plural article, this *e* is sometimes written with the apostrophe (*e' = elli*) [Vid. 'Lettere Senese,'<sup>12</sup> p. 90: *e' suoi fatti*; 'Bindo Bonichi,'<sup>13</sup> p. 170: *che e' pochi*; 'Zenone da Pistoja,' l. c., p. 55: *e' mie' chiovi*]. But it is never written this way in the combination *tutti e tre* (that is, as *tutti e' tre*). This furnishes another reason for believing that the *e* is not the same as *i* in such a combination.

What remains then? While Ascoli merely hints at the *e* being equivalent to *et*, and assigns no reasons for it, Diez and Morf offer no proof against such being the case. I have

<sup>12</sup> 'Lettere Volgari del secolo xiii scritte da Senesi.' (*Scelta*, ecc. cxvi) Bologna, 1871.

<sup>13</sup> 'Rime di Bindo Bonichi da Siena.' (*Scelta*, ecc. lxxxii) Bologna, 1867.



shown why it cannot be the masculine plural article, but I do believe that it is *et*, though not necessarily used in the sense of German "und zwar" (which is Morf's, not Ascoli's, interpretation).

The first objection against such a supposition will naturally be that a contradiction is implied in that it is illogical to claim that *e* in *tutti e cavalli* means "the" (*i*), and in *tutti e tre*, "and" (*et*). I assert that there is no contradiction. We have

*tutti i cavalli*—*tutti e cavalli*  
—*tutti e tre*.

We are justified in translating *e* in *tutti e cavalli* as "the" because parallel to it we have the same construction with *i* which could never be translated "and"; but in *tutti e tre* there is no such parallel from (*tutti i tre*) to guide in the rendering, and if the *e* is unsatisfactory as an article in such a connection (as I have shown it to be), there is no analogy between it and *tutti e cavalli* to deter us from seeking its explanation elsewhere.

This explanation I make as follows: One who notices the occurrences of numerals in the older texts cannot fail to mark the fact that, contrary to modern usage, the tendency was to employ the longer form; for example, *venti e nove*, *trenta e due*, *sessanta e tre*, instead of *ventinove*, etc. On account of such usage there was a feeling established that when a smaller numeral followed a greater there should be a kind of copula, or connection, between them. This usage was carried from constructions where the greater factor did not include the less (*venti e tre*) to those where it did do so (*tutti e tre*). Although there is no direct analogy, because *tutti* included the *tre* while *venti* did not, yet when a speaker, accustomed to say *venti e tre* wanted to say "all three," it is easily conceivable that, after beginning with *tutti*, he should introduce an *e* before the *tre*, just as when *venti* is followed by *tre* he had used an *e*. Nor is the want of direct analogy between *venti* and *tutti* an argument against my supposition, for the *e* was used in both cases with reference to the *tre* which followed, and not with regard to *venti* and *tutti* which preceded (and this is proved by the fact that if the speaker wanted

to say *venti uomini* he would have no idea of the introduction of an *e* between *venti* and *uomini*.)

Again, if it is objected that my supposed analogy between *venti e tre* and *tutti e tre* does not hold good, because when we find a larger numeral in connection with *tutti*, as *tutti e cinquanta*, there is no such analogy supposable; as, for instance, with a construction like *sessanta e cinquanta*, I will say that I believe the analogy began with the smaller numerals and was extended to the larger; I am justified in holding such a belief because, among the examples noted in my reading, only one such large numeral occurs, *tutti e cinquanta*:<sup>14</sup> the others being *tutti e due*, *tre*, *quattro*, etc., up to *nove*. Besides, the instance spoken of by Salviati, Blanc, Ascoli, Diez and Morf is always *tutti e due*, or *tre*, which induces one to believe that they considered that the explanation of the phenomenon was to be discovered in a consideration of the small numeral.

Thus, I consider the *e* as a sort of "empitura," a filling-out between *tutti* and *tre*, introduced not in the sense "und zwar," nor from any particular necessity (for *tutti tre* also occurs sometimes), but merely for "leggieria," at a time when a similar *e* was in usage with the numerals. Pointing toward such a conclusion is the way the *e* is printed in the edition of Boccaccio, above referred to, where, by the side of *tutti e tre* and *tutti tre*, we find *tutti et tre* (written thus six times) *tutti & tre* (three times) *tutti & quattro*, *tutti & sette* (once each).

I explain the form *tutti a tre* similarly: the original form was doubtless *tutta tre* (Morf),<sup>15</sup> though the author making the most extensive use of it (Cellini:<sup>16</sup>) always writes it *tutt'a tre*. I place the *tutt' a tre* (thus written) as the second stage toward *tutti a tre*. From its

<sup>14</sup> 'Novelle di Giov. Sercambi' (*Scelta*, ecc., cxix) Bologna, 1871, p. 48.

<sup>15</sup> On the same principle of analogy with numerals (as that spoken of above in the use of *e* between *tutti* and *tre*) may we not see in the forms *trenta*, *quaranta*, *cinquanta*, etc., up to *novanta* a parallelism in termination that induced the wide-spread usage of *tutta*, if they did not really constitute the original analogical basis for that form?

<sup>16</sup> 'Opere,' Milano, 1806.



original connection with *tutta* as a neuter, the *a* came to be looked upon as the connecting vowel in place of *e*, and when the full *tutti* was again used, its use as a neuter ending was forgotten entirely, and it was thought of only as this connecting vowel.

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*The Nature and Elements of Poetry.* By EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1892. 8vo, pp. xx, 338.

THIS volume, as the author tells us in his Introduction, includes the series of lectures delivered at the Johns Hopkins University, on the Percy Turnbull Memorial Foundation. The lectures have also been presented, from month to month, in the columns of *The Century Magazine*. The author points with honest pride to the fact that the Turnbull Foundation was "the first endowed lectureship of poetry in the United States; and the second throughout the universities of the English-speaking world." In the discussion before him, the author proposes to treat "of the quality and attributes of poetry itself . . . to present poetry in the concrete . . . its essence and incarnation" even at the risk, as he modestly states, of "threshing old straw." Viewing all poetry as divisible into "creation and self-expression," and wisely avoiding any detailed discussion of "schools and fashions," he deals with the "primal nature" of the poetic art. The treatise is presented in eight distinct chapters or papers as follows: Oracles Old and New; What is Poetry; Creation and Self-Expression; Melancholia; Beauty; Truth; Imagination; The Faculty Divine. Insisting, at the outset, that poetry is a force and not made by any *a priori* rules but by "nature and the foreordaining stars," he attempts, by a careful survey of the history of critical opinion, to reach "a serviceable definition" of the art. Reviewing thus the teachings of Plato, Horace, Goethe, Byron, Mill, Ruskin, Wordsworth, Emerson, Lander, Watts, and others, he gives us as his final word on the subject the following: "Poetry is rhythmical, imaginative language, expressing the invention,

taste, thought, passion and insight of the human soul." More specially and tersely, he speaks of the poet as a "revealer"; of poetry, as an "expression of the beautiful"; of feeling, as "the excitant of genuine poetry"; of poetry, as "ideal expression through words"; as either "impersonal or self-expressive"; as seen, especially, in Hebraic and Hellenic verse. In the paper on Melancholia, special stress is laid upon the "subjective undertone" of such authors as Dante and Milton; upon the romantic movement in modern English and Continental verse, and upon the "major and minor keys of lyric song" as heard in the touch of Mr. Browning and Matthew Arnold, and Swinburne "the most subjective of contemporary poets." While there is "no inevitable relation between disease and genius," the author contends for the presence of that "sublime seriousness" which is often the clearest expression of "the sadness of great souls." Some definite idea of what constitutes beauty in poetry is then sought and the critic takes occasion, once again, as in former writings, to exalt construction above mere ornamentation.

In treating of the relations of beauty and truth, timely caution is given against the tendency to make the didactic obtrusive in verse, as Wordsworth and Thompson did, while full praise is paid to that higher didacticism, the poetry of wisdom, which is so signal-ly seen in the Book of Ecclesiastes, as, also, in Tennyson, Browning and Emerson.

Imagination as "the essential key to expression" is then discussed, and the volume closes with a clear presentation of passion, insight, genius and faith as those high and natural forms in which "The Faculty Divine" manifests itself. Such, in brief, is the drift of the discussion in hand, a discussion in which the accomplished author holds himself closely to his theme and seeks to secure and express tenable views.

Were we bent on finding ground for adverse criticism, we might modestly question the exclusive validity of the definition of poetry as given, in that, on the one hand, it is too comprehensive in its statement of separate factors and, also, not sufficiently definite in its use of the word, rhythmical. The term, metrical,

would possibly better express the differentiation between poetry and prose, or poetry and poetical prose.

It might further be hinted, that the word *Melancholia*, as a synonym for subjectivity, even in the minor strain, is not always a just or happy one, its range being restricted and exceptional in the highest verse. Mr. Arnold's phrase, "intellectual seriousness" or the author's own phrase, "a sublime seriousness" is a better one.

Mr. Stedman's high laudation of Whitman, in this as in other volumes from his pen, is to us somewhat surprising, and yet we must not too stoutly demur, while, here and there, are passages which seem to be incapable of a clear interpretation. We hasten on to words of praise, and note two or three characteristic merits. There is evident, throughout, that independence of judgment which is an essential requisite of successful criticism, despite the fact that it is so rarely found. With all due deference to the history of opinion upon the various authors and questions coming under review, Mr. Stedman courteously insists upon his own views, reached, as they have been, by patient thought and reading, and based upon the accepted canons of literary criticism. Not infrequently he finds himself unable to endorse conclusions which have the sanction of age and high authority, and makes no hesitation in uttering his dissent with reasons therefore.

In fact, had not the author done this, a discussion of the nature of poetry would not have been needed, in that it has been so generally treated by ancient and modern students of letters. Moreover, the author is not ashamed to modify opinions which he himself has formerly held, remembering that it is the duty of the true critic, as of the student of truth, at times, to unlearn what he has learned, or to present antecedent convictions in new form by reason of new evidence. A further excellence apparent in this treatise is that it is a thoroughly intellectual presentation of artistic truth, a philosophic discussion of poetic art. The author assures us, at the outset, that he is to proceed after this higher method, seeking "primal elements," those fundamental facts on which the process of generalization may safely be based. The very title of the treatise demands this. If the plan and purpose are in a sense elementary, the author hastens to

add, "that the simplest laws and constituents are also the most profound and abiding."

This is done, moreover, in anything but that unduly didactic manner which the discussion itself so sharply condemns as applied to the criticism of literature. Copious and pertinent illustration saves the pages from every trace of the prosaic and invests a somewhat difficult subject with genuine interest. This combination of maturity of judgment with delicacy of taste is as rare as it is desirable. Many critics, especially of verse, utterly fail in effecting it, while they only are masters in the art who have the faculty of philosophic and of literary insight, and know how to be critically profound without being dull, and critically æsthetic without being superficial.

This is a feature of all Mr. Stedman's work, by which the art with which he deals is made to appear as a scientific and yet an attractive one, and widely removed from so much of that journalistic criticism of the day which sacrifices fact to preference and seeks, at all hazards, to make literary censorship readable.

We notice, further, and with peculiar interest, the author's earnest plea for poetry, for the inherent excellence and world-wide mission of verse. The volume is, indeed, an outgrowth of the conviction that poetry was losing ground in general esteem and that "under stress of public neglect or distaste, the lovers of any cause or art find their regard for it more unshaken than ever." Even in literature, as he intimates, he finds these counter tendencies, and writes at a time "when poetry is strenuously rivalled by other forms of expression, especially, by pure fiction." He, therefore, takes up his pen in behalf of a failing cause and, in the old chivalric spirit of a loyal knight, contends courageously in its defence. He deals with poetry as "a voice of the future" as well as of the past, and would exalt the principles of these "practical idealists" who still believe in the prophet and the bard.

Hence, the hopefulness of his outlook as he closes his survey. "For one," he says, "I believe that the last age of imaginative production is not past; that poetry is to retain, as of old, its literary import, and from time to time, to prove itself a force in national life." With Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier and Tennyson gone, some of us may fail to see the signs

of continuous poetic life, and yet 'tis well to have our forebodings allayed by the positive convictions of one who has a right to know. The discussion before us is thus as stimulating as it is substantial. It lifts the student of verse to higher levels and wider vision, and may be said to be a sound and serviceable contribution to the special department that it represents.

T. W. HUNT.

Princeton College.

# CORRESPONDENCE.

## OLD ENGLISH *scúrheard*.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES.

SIRS:—Since reading Dr. Pearce's note in MOD. LANG. NOTES for November, two or three observations occur to me which it may be worth while to communicate.

1. It is not unlikely that OE. *heard* in compounds should oftener be translated by Pearce's 'terrible,' 'dreadful,' than has usually been the case in the lexicons and glossaries.

2. This is especially worthy to be inquired into in the case of epithets applied to offensive, as distinguished from defensive, weapons.

3. Were this carried out consistently, it might suggest a transfer of several instances of simple *heard* from Grein's first meaning to his second or fourth.

4. In favor of this last suggestion is the commonest meaning of the adv. *hearde* in Grein.

5. The fact that there is a copious poetical vocabulary in Old Norse, often presenting remarkable analogies with that of Old English, should not be forgotten in such discussion. It happens that there is a poetical epithet in O. N., beginning with *skúr*, which may throw light upon our compound. I refer to *skurörðigr*, where *skúr* is in a dative construction, such as would better suit Pearce's sixth or eleventh sense, and not an instrumental construction, such as it required by most of the other explanations. This O. N. adjective, which occurs only once in the Edda, according to Egilsson and Cleasby-Vigfusson, is translated by the former as 'obnitens procellæ, vento,' that is, 'breasting the storm, or wind,'

where it is evident that the case of *skúr* can not be regarded as instrumental.

6. It will be noted that *fýrheard*, which Pearce adduced as a parallel, does not refer to an offensive weapon, but to a portion of the helmet. Of course it is not to be denied that *heard* sometimes has its literal sense in the poetical texts.

7. Will not these considerations enable us to get rid, once for all, of the 'scouring,' 'shower of blows from a hammer,' and perhaps of Dr. Pearce's 'shower' in the sense of 'rain-water'?

ALBERT S. COOK.

Yale University.

## OLD ENGLISH *scúrheard*.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES.

SIRS:—The first four paragraphs of the preceding note seem to admit of no special adverse criticism.

Dr. Cook rests his case, to a great extent, upon the O. N. *skúr-örðigr*, a compound which seems to me hardly pertinent for comparison, because

1. It does not seem to be applied to a weapon, either offensive or defensive; and

2. It seems to me that in *skúr-örðigr*, the dative construction of *skúr* is due primarily to *örðigr* (here=*obnitens*); and that *skúr-örðigr*, therefore, can hardly throw any light upon *scúrheard*, where the second part of the compound has a meaning very dissimilar to that of the corresponding part of the O. N. word.

In spite of Dr. Cook's sixth and seventh paragraphs, the rejection of the interpretation that I have suggested for *scúrheard*, leaves *fýrheard* an independent and vexatious problem; but the adoption of my suggestion would clear the latter of all difficulties, for then *scúrheard* and *fýrheard* would represent two different views of one operation.

I am not sure of the strict correctness of my former statement that no instances could be cited of OE. *scúr*=rainwater, for there are several passages where this force seems more or less distinctly implied. There is an instructive apposition in "Daniel," 349-50:



*Droþena dréarung* . . . . .  
*Wearmlíc wolcna scúr* . . . .

And these other passages are also worthy of consideration:

*Déaw and déor scúr* . . . .

"Daniel," 372.

*Scúr sceal on heofenum*  
*Winde geblanden in þás woruld cuman.*

"Vers. Gnom. Cott.," 40.

*And he ártman mæg rægnas [rægnas?] scúran*  
*Droþena gehwelcne.*

"Satan," II.

J. W. PEARCE.

*Tulane University of Louisiana.*

#### BEACON BEEKENES.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES.

SIRS:—In reference to Prof. Cameron's explanation of *beekenes* (MOD. LANG. NOTES. for Nov. 1892), I desire to call attention to Murray's 'N. E. D.,' where the meaning "lighthouse" is given under *beacon*, and where, among others, the following quotation is found: "1397 Act 21 Richard III, xviii. §1 Les Beekenes devant le port Moeges." Two remarks seem to be called for. First, *Richard III* is a misprint for *Richard II*. Secondly, Murray evidently quotes the same passage as E. M. in *L'Intermédiaire*. But Murray reads *Moeges illoques*, a difference in reading that is easy of explanation. Does the name *Moeges* occur elsewhere?

The equivalent of our *beacon* occurs in Modern Dutch, also in Modern German, where it is *Bak* or *Bake*. Sanders defines it as follows:

"Merkzeichen, sowohl die das Fahrwasser bezeichnenden Wassertonnen, als auch die für die einseigelnden Schiffe als Wahrzeichen errichteten hölzernen Gebäude am Ufer, und die auf den Thürmen u.s.w. brennenden Blusen,"

etc. Of course, it is *niederdeutsch*.

J. H. OTT.

*Northwestern University (Wisc).*

#### ON A PASSAGE IN THE PETERBOROUGH CHRONICLE.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES.

SIRS:—In the OE. Chronicle under date of

1135 is a sentence that seems to have been a puzzle to editors. It reads as follows:

"*þa wes tre sona þas landes, for æuric man sone ræuede oper þe mihte.*"

At *tre* Thorpe says a new scribe begins. He proposed to read *trege* < OE. *trega* 'affliction, grief' for *tre*, but there is in the MS. no authority for this, and the meaning of *trege* would hardly be strong enough for this place. In the edition of Earle and Plummer just out ('Two of the Saxon Chronicles,' Oxford, 1892) the sentence is printed "*þa westre sona þas landes* etc.," as in the original edition by Earle. The glossary, however, gives no other explanation of this new word *westre* than to say 'obscure word' and cite the passage. Würzner in *Anglia* viii *Anz.* 21 proposes to read *pre* < OE. *præa* 'misery, trouble,' but *t* for *p* regularly occurs in the last part of the Chronicle only after *d*, or *t*, and then only in the case of the article *þe* so this reading is hardly probable. It may also be said, that in all the above attempts at elucidation *sona* is left unexplained, and yet if this is OE. *sona* 'soon' it commonly appears in this part of the Chronicle as *sone* or *son*, both of which occur.

For this obscure passage let me propose another explanation, for which there seems to be some authority both in the forms of language and in the facts of history. The reading I propose is,

"*þa wes treson a þas landes*, etc."

In support of this reading, 'there was treason in those lands,' it may be said that *wes* is a common form of OE. *wæs* in the last part of the Chronicle, as often in ME. As for *treson* < Norm. F. *treson*, *treison* it occurs in the OE. Homilies (Morris) I, 279 in the form *tresun*, and *tresun*, *treson* are found in other texts, beside *traison*, *trayson* with the diphthong. For the form *a* for *on*, with the sense of *in*, it may be compared with "*o þe norð*" in the entry for 1131, and "*o þe land*" under 1137. Moreover this *a=on* actually occurs in this same Laud MS. under the year 1087, as well as occasionally in the other Chronicle MSS. It therefore can not be regarded as an impossible form for this text.

The proposed reading also suits the historic-

al facts of the year in question. The trouble breaking out at the close of the reign of Henry I. was due to what an English Chronicler might rightly call treason, since the nobles in Normandy were refusing to acknowledge Stephen as king, and it was owing to this abandonment of a settled government, that the murder and bloodshed so vividly pictured by the Chroniclers was due. In the 'Historia Johannis Prioris Hagustaldensis ecclesiae' occur these words on the death of Henry I:

"Quo mortuo, continuo, emeruerunt homines scelesti & peccatores, cuncta jura justitiae & pacis dissipantes, & ad direptiones, & caedes, incendia, & alia flagitia hostiliter proruentes."

The 'Historia piae memoriae Ricardi Prioris Hagustaldensis ecclesiae' has words of similar import. In Ordericus Vitalis there is a Latin poem on the death of Henry I, in which these lines occur.

"Tollere quisque cupit jam passim res alienas  
Rebus in injustis en quisque relaxat habenas.  
  
Luce patet clara quod eis pax extat amara;  
Quam mox spreverunt, ut regem fata tulerunt,  
Pro nece patritii fures lætantur iniqui;  
Prædones avidi discurrunt ad mala prompti,  
Jamque putant quod nullus eos herus amodo jure  
Arceat."

Finally Florence of Worcester puts the case even more strongly.

"Quo sepulto, et Stephano regnante, necnon multo ante, ubique locorum per Angliam et Normanniam, diruptio pacis foedere, plurimum fit disturbatio. Quisque in alterum caput elevat; quae oritur discordia, in vastando omnia nobilium et ignobilium, alta magna ac diversa subintrat moenia; quisque alium rebus spoliât, potius impotentem vi opprimit, quaestam super hoc agentem minis terreat, neci traditur qui resistat."

OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON.

Cornell University.

#### A RECENT ESTIMATE OF BEN JONSON.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES.

SIRS:—The following paragraph from Vol. I of Fleay's 'Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama,' London, 1891, will perhaps interest those who have perused Professor Schelling's admirable edition of 'Timber.' The extract is from pp. 13-14:

"I cannot pass over in silence one point which has been impressed on me at every step in this long labor—the central importance of Ben Jonson. Fourteen years since, in a conversation with the present Laureate at his Haslemere mansion, he rebuked me for my comparatively low estimate of his illustrious predecessor; and although he has since forgotten me (for what reason I know not), I have not forgotten one word of the many weighty apothegms which he uttered in that two days' converse. I have since then studied Jonson deeply, and I do not exaggerate when I say that, although Shakespeare is the central figure in our dramatic literature, Jonson certainly is the central figure in our dramatic history. In the variety of his work, plays, poems, masks, entertainments, and especially in his *Discoveries* (the full value of which has been appreciated, as far as I know, by no one till Mr. Swinburne . . .); . . . and in his unique knowledge, among dramatists of his time, of the only other dramatic literature of anything like equal importance with our own,—he stands preëminently foremost."

On the date of composition Mr. Fleay has a note (on p. 333): "*Timber*, or *Discoveries*. Not those burned in the 1623 fire. These date 1623-35. See Swinburne's excellent essay on this work, which, fortunately for me, needs no further comment here." What will Mr. Fleay say to Schelling's note on p. 4, l. 15?

ALBERT S. COOK.

Yale University.

#### BRIEF MENTION.

The Tenth Annual Convention of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA will be held in Columbian University (15th and H Streets), Washington, D. C., on December 28, 29 and 30. An address on "Recollections of Language Teaching" will be delivered on the evening of the 28th by the President of the Association, Professor FRANCIS A. MARCH of Lafayette College, Pa. Papers will be presented as follows: 1. "The Gardner's Daughter; or the Pictures," Professor JOHN PHELPS FRUIT, Bethel College, Ky.—2. "The Tales of Uncle Remus traced to the Old World," Professor A. GERBER, Earlham College, Ind.—3. "A Grouping of Figures of Speech, based upon the Principle of their Effectiveness," Professor HERBERT E. GREENE, Wells College, N. Y.—4. "The Legend of the Holy Grail," Professor GEO. M. HARPER,

*Princeton College, N. J.*—5. "A Study of the Middle English Poem, 'The Pystal of Susan': its MSS., Dialect, Authorship and Style; introductory to a Collated Text and Glossary," Dr. THOS. P. HARRISON, *Johns Hopkins University, Md.*—6. "The Sources of Udall's 'Roisterdoister,'" Professor GEO. HEMPL, *University of Michigan.*—7. "The Historical Study of English in Virginia," Professor J. B. HENNEMAN, *Hampden Sidney College, Va.*—8. "The Burlesque Ballad in Germany," Dr. C. VON KLENZE, *Cornell University.*—9. "Guernsey: its People and Dialect," Dr. EDW. S. LEWIS, *Princeton College, N. J.*—10. "Manuscript 24310 and other MSS. in the Paris National Library, which contain French metrical versions of the Fables of Walter of England," Professor T. LOGIE, *Williams College, Mass.*—11. "Did King Alfred translate the 'Historia Ecclesiastica'?" Professor J. W. PEARCE, *Tulane University of La.*—12. "Lessing's Religious Development with Special Reference to his Nathan The Wise," Professor SYLVESTER PRIMER, *University of Texas.*—13. "The Absolute Participle in Middle and Modern English," Professor C. H. ROSS, *Agricul. and Mechan. College, Ala.*—14. "Erasmus' works, especially the 'Encomium Moriae' and the 'Colloquies,' as sources of Rabelais' political, religious and literary Satire," Dr. HERMANN SCHÖNFELD, *Johns Hopkins University, Md.* On the evening of the 29th, a reception will be given the Convention by Professor A. MELVILLE BELL, President of the Phonetic Section.

Macmillan's 'Second Course of French Composition,' by G. Eugène Fasnacht, is based on the excellent principle that a student's attempts at writing a foreign idiom should, at least in the beginning, be limited to the imitation of good models in that language. The way in which this principle is here applied may, however, not meet with the unqualified approval of American critics. In the first place, the 'Composition'—a somewhat over-bulky volume of 430 pages—is made up of three distinct parts, which, apparently, have no connection with one another, and might just as well (or better) have been published separately. In Part I. (pp. 1-131) we find a set of well-chosen French texts, exhibiting many

varieties of style, and, face to face with each bit of French, an English passage of similar character. The only serious fault to be found with these pages is that the English selections are, as a general thing, not closely enough related to the French, so that the author has to give much assistance in foot-notes, and the pupil cannot always employ the imitative method. Part II. (pp. 133-194) consists of English texts without any corresponding French. While most of the pieces offered are good examples of English style, they are nearly all so difficult and idiomatic that an undue portion of the work falls to the share of the annotator. Part III. (pp. 195-416) contains nothing but a long series of French extracts, chosen to illustrate the treatment of many different kinds of subjects; it is, in fact, a French reader. In spite of the literary taste displayed in the arrangement of this part, we fear that few American teachers will find a use for it: readers of this sort are rapidly going out of fashion. In our opinion these models should have been either omitted from the present work, or else accompanied by appropriate English exercises. As a whole, this 'Course' shows originality, a scholarly spirit, and careful workmanship; and although, as we have pointed out, the plan of the work is open to criticism, we regard the book as far superior to most "French Compositions."

A recent addition to the *Modern Language Series* of D. C. Heath & Co. is Victor Hugo's 'La Chute' (from 'Les Misérables,' Book Second of Part First). It is edited by Professor H. C. O. Huss of the College of New Jersey. The selection is an admirable one, and must commend itself to teachers as a timely aid to the Study of Hugo. The editor's comment in his preface is very just:

"This extract . . . stands by itself as an independent and well-rounded whole . . . It is unusually interesting reading . . . It is strikingly characteristic of Victor Hugo's thought and style, and therefore highly instructive as a literary study. It is surprising how much these four-score pages reveal of their author."

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At the Fifth Annual Convention of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, held in Cincinnati, December, 1888, it was determined by the Executive Council to publish the Transactions of the Society in instalments, and, furthermore, to add other Papers that may not have been presented at the Convention, provided, in the judgment of the Editorial Committee, they are suitable to appear in the publications of the Association. The following Contributions constitute the sixth issue, with part of the fifth, of this series, which will be pushed forward as rapidly as the material is furnished to the Secretary and as the funds of the Society permit. All communications relating to the PUBLICATIONS should be addressed to the Secretary of the Association, Professor A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

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Messrs. HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & CO., Boston, issued, in December, a Holiday Edition of NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE'S 'Our Old Home,' and in early part of February, 'Early Renaissance and Essays' by Prof. HOPPIN, of Yale University.

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MESSRS. D. C. HEATH & CO., Boston, issued during October and the early part of November the following works: LYON, W. S. and LARPENT, G. de H.: 'A Primary French Translation Book,'—HEYSE'S 'L'Ar-rabbiata' by Dr. WILHELM BERNHARDT, and GEORGE SAND'S 'La mare au Diable' edited by F. C. de SUMICHRAST. This firm also expect to issue early this month DUMAS' 'L'Evagion du Duc de Beaufort,' and GHERARDI DEL TESTA'S 'L'Oro e L'Orpello,' edited by C. H. THURBER.

MESSRS. HENRY HOLT & CO., New York, beg to say that a brief outline of Anglo-Saxon Grammar (Phonology and Inflection), which is to constitute a Supplement to Bright's 'Anglo-Saxon Reader,' is in preparation; that this Supplement, although somewhat delayed, may be expected to be ready in the Spring.

MESSRS. HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & CO., Boston, have just issued 'The Complete Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley,' edited by GEORGE E. WOODBERRY. This firm will publish early this month JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL'S 'The Old Dramatists,' edited by CHARLES ELIOT NORTON.

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